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SEXUAL SUBCULTURES AND INTERACTION: A STUDY IN DISCREPANT MEANINGS

by

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Sexual Subcultures and Interaction: A Study in Discrepant Meanings" submitted by Dale Herbert Berg in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to the numerous girls, who sat across from my desk asking for help in understanding what was happening to them in their experiences with boys. Their naivete of the male world was a source of continual fascination. Their problems of interaction, their self doubts in the face of the conflicts brought about through their ignorance and their efforts directed at trying to understand all contributed to the formulation of this research. To them and to the many girls like them, this study is dedicated to the end that the differing sexual perspectives may be understood. Certainly, the institutions of dating and marriage can only be enhanced by mutual understanding between the sexes. A first step in this building of understanding would seem to be the demise of the sexual subcultures with their mythological portrayals of the other sex. The equality of the sexes and mutual regard for people as persons regardless of sex would seem to require the eradication of the myths born in the sexual subcultures.

ABSTRACT

This study is based on two important assumptions. First, definitions of attractiveness are seen to systematically vary between male and female subcultures. Second, these differential conceptions are assumed to have a significant influence on heterosexual relationships. Given these assumptions, this study explores the impact of parents, siblings, peers and media content on the relative awareness of male subcultural definitions among pubescent and post-pubescent females.

A sample of 112 pubescent and post-pubescent girls were given a questionnaire which included questions about their attitudes, familial relations, reading habits and dress habits. The questionnaire also included a pretested semantic differential scale designed to measure various definitions of attractiveness.

The subjects were classified as being high or low in male content in their definitions of what constituted an attractive girl. These groupings made it possible to investigate the variables which might be associated with a like-male perspective among young adolescent females. Several variables were hypothesized to be associated with high male content in definitions of attractiveness among girls.

The findings suggest that pre-adolescent girls receive minimal anticipatory socialization concerning the way boys think. Much of the material concerning the nature of the male sexual subculture which is possibly transmitted to the pubescent girl prior to her

actual interaction with males (on the level of dating), is subject to "retranslation" by the girl into her female perspective. This is due primarily, it would appear, to the generalized and vague character of the early information transmitted by parents and others. It would appear that the messages of the media are also subjected to this reformulation process, where the messages are not congruent with the feminine understanding of reality.

Awareness of the male sexual subculture and its "perception of things" seems to come to the girl through actual interaction with males in situations involving sexual themes, i.e. dating. It would appear that many of the cues and symbols involved in heterosexual interaction are not compatible with the female definitions of reality and that it is this incompatibility which "suggests" to the girl that boys may be seeing things differently.

Finally, it was concluded that the girls who were aware of the content of the male subculture tended to adopt its perspectives. This tendency was particularly evident in their definitions of what constituted an attractive girl.

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Working on a doctoral dissertation is for the most part a lonely venture. At times friends and loved ones can help most by taking the role of stranger. At other times their comfort and counsel are greatly needed. Unfortunately, more often than not, responsbility for knowing what is needed falls upon them. As the problem to be researched is conceived, developed and finally subdued, as the instruments are fashioned and refashioned, as the data are amassed, one begins to lose perspective on other things in life. Add to this the enormous task of sifting through the data, the difficulty of trying to comprehend the complexity of what one has gathered, the frustration of the numerous "back to the drawing board" experiences and the numerous, frequently abortive, attempts at putting all one "knows" about his data into writing and it is not surprising that authors of dissertations can easily forget all those who helped.

One always expects to read about the dedicated wife who sat patiently and silently on the side lines and at the right moment tip-toed into the author's inner sanctum with coffee to revive her beloved epitomy of the work ethic. My wife cannot qualify for this kind of acknowledgment. Rather, her contribution to this document came in ways so manifest and diverse so as to defy enumeration. Her constant encouragement, her empathy when things were functioning inversely to expectation and her many days and nights of solitude with solitaire are but a few of her contributions. Her direct contributions consisted of being the "female perspective" against which many of the author's "insights" were tested and finally articulated. She also undertook the task of proofreading the final draft to a point of being driven to question her own literacy. To Joan, who in so many ways, perhaps more unknown than known, helped in this undertaking go my deepest thanks.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study is concerned with factors which contribute to knowledge about the male subculture among pubescent and post-pubescent girls. Several variables are assessed which are hypothesized to account in part for awareness about male attitudes. The issue of awareness versus unawareness is of importance in that aware girls would seem to be in the more advantageous position in interacting with males, than their naive counterparts. Such awareness is an especially important issue in the life of the adolescent.

In the last century, the period of adolescence has expanded in both directions covering at present nearly a decade (Garrison, 1958). Accordingly, a larger number of individuals are affected by this period than at any time in history. There is little argument that adolescence marks a period of time between childhood and adulthood. What most laymen fail to appreciate is that this period of transition is in fact a social construction. Sociologists and anthropologists have long noted that our society lacks definitive rites of passage, particularly from childhood to adulthood. Because this period has evolved within the context of a host of other changes, it has come upon us quite unobtrusively. Being in a sense a by-product of these other changes in the social order, the adolescent period is filled with ambiguity.

While it is generally agreed that puberty is one indicator of the beginning of adolescence, it should be noted that many behaviors regarded as being typically adolescent are occurring earlier; for example, smoking, dating and modes of dress. Several writers have observed that behaviors appropriate to provocative sexual experience often occur at ages prior to puberty and that the phenomenon of adolescence seems to be primarily emotional, having very little to do with either puberty or chronological age (Campbell, 1969, Bauer, 1965). Several researchers have noted the existence of norms which encourage cross-sex interaction among children as early as the fifth grade and that a substantial number of ten and eleven year olds claimed some dating experience (Broderick and Fowler, 1961). Regional norm differences seem to be more explanatory than the age of the participants or their level of physical development in determining when dating begins (Lowrie, 1961). Burchinal's observation that only a minimum level of physical development is necessary for initiating dating would seem to accurately relate physical development to the beginning of typically adolescent activities (Burchinal, 1964).

Moving from childhood to adulthood through the period of adolescense, the adolescent comes to realize that he is treated as neither child nor adult. In some situations he is responded to as an adult, in other contexts as a child. The end of this period, like its beginning, is vague and undefined. Vocational aims requiring extended education require the adolescent to remain a student well into early adulthood, an enterprise which in many aspects is considered to be typically adolescent. The right to vote at eighteen, variable drinking ages, and ineligibility for adult automobile insurance rates are but a few examples of the varying definitions of the adolescence.

It is during adolescence that the task of developing a self identity is most apparent (Elder, 1968; Erickson, 1963). The salience of the sexual component of the self conception increases markedly with the coming of pubescence. The physical changes occuring at this time affect the self identity. The adolescent's emerging sexuality with its new body awarenesses and the implications of these changes must be incorporated into the self definition. Numerous elements in the adolescent's social world contribute to the process of integrating this newly discovered sexual dimension.

The female, like the male, is confronted with the societal ideals of physique, and as a result, her physical appearance increases in its importance as an object of self feelings (Staton, 1963; Douvan and Adelson, 1966). In comparison to the male, the development of the girl's secondary sexual characteristics are more public and as such, it can be argued, they are more likely to be a source of embarrassment or pride. Whereas the males might be comparing physique and genital development in the relative privacy of the locker room, the young adolescent girl is well aware of the fact that the development of her hips and breasts, for example, is public information in that her development can be viewed by both sexes. Along with her heightened concern over her subjective sexuality she also becomes aware of herself as a sexual object (deBeauvoir, 1953). Acutely aware of the sexual changes transforming her body, she necessarily becomes sensitive to the awareness of others regarding her development. Casual remarks, teasing and/or comments about her "becoming a young lady" are normal. These responses of others sensitize her to the fact that her emerging sexuality has meaning to others; indeed, meaning of some consequence.

Kovar comments that what appears to be modesty during this period is really a fear of "anticipated comparison of her body, and especially her bust, with her peers" (Kovar, 1968:42). It is during this period that the adolescent girl faces "one of the most important developmental tasks, that of accepting the reality of ...[her] own appearance: in this process...[she is] trying to make that reality as attractive as possible" (Tryon, 1944:223). The ideals of feminine form and attractiveness are well articulated in her society offering her numerous opportunities for self evaluation. She faces the decision whether to accept the normal course of her development or to speed up her entrance into the sexual role through her dress and the use of grooming aids. The pressure to be sexually mature is particularly strong upon those who are developmentally behind their peers.

> "I am 12. Everyone of my friends has a bra. I asked my mother if I could get one. I know I don't need one and that I'm very flat, but I just wanted to be popular..." (Edmonton Journal, July 26, 1969:15)

Concomitantly with the development of the sexual self awareness comes the required redefinition of self. She must look for definitions of who she is, what she is and the behavior which appropriately accompanies these emerging definitions. There are many sources to which she might turn for assistance in this process of incorporating her physical development into her self conception. Perhaps the most influential sources of the meaning of her development are parents, peers and the media. In any case, the point is simply that the development of feelings of self is significantly altered by the beginning of puberty and that 'others' in her self-other encounters are important conveyors of meaning to her.

Her ability to integrate these changes in her body will be of consequence to her in her interaction with others. Erik Erikson's formulation of the eight ages of man designates the fifth stage, puberty and adolescence, as the Identity vs. Role Confusion ego conflict. The danger of this stage is seen by Erikson as being role confusion. When this role confusion is based on strong previous doubt as to one's sexual identity, serious problems can arise (Erikson, 1963). Applying Erikson's insights to the young adolescent female, doubt and confusion concerning her sexual identity might well be one of the major contributing factors to later role confusion. The incorporation of her developing sexuality into her self conception is one of the pressing demands of this stage. How she perceives her sexuality and how she perceives others to be perceiving these observable changes are paramount in their effect upon her self conceptual process. Conflict between her own conception of her sexuality and her perception of others' reactions to her sexuality can result in serious psychological and interactional problems.

The process of developing a self view is further complicated by the fact that the stimuli are not always consistent. The attitudes of others concerning body images not only vary by age and sex but also as a result of distinct socialization experience. In consequence, the girl is confronted with attitudes of both male and female subcultures. Her own socialization experience may result in her misinterpreting the symbols. There is some evidence that males tend to view girls as sexual objects (Udry, 1966; Hollingshead, 1949; Whyte, 1943). A common female articulation of this subcultural difference is that "boys are only interested in sex." It would appear from the research that the wider implications of this particular male perspective are frequently unknown to the adolescent female. As a result she may experience male responses as being inconsistent with the way she understands things to be. The content and function of these subcultures will be discussed more fully later.

Suffice it to say at this point that the existence of the two sexual subcultures presents several intriguing questions related to the female's self conception and her ability to manage social situations involving the opposite sex. Relative to this issue, Montagu notes that while males have long known the female rules of sexual interaction, they do not play the game by them, but rather use them to achieve their own ends (Montagu, date unknown). Other questions generated by the sexual subculture phenomenon are of theoretical interest. Even though interaction increases markedly during adolescence, why do some females appear to remain ignorant of the male definitions and symbols? What is the relationship between awareness or non-awareness and the components of the self conception?

These and similar kinds of questions led to the formulation of this research project. The interplay between the self conception of girls and the responses of others is of particular theoretical interest.

The following chapter will further develop the issues through a review of the literature and a further consideration of the theoretical issues. Integration of the theoretical facets of the problem will be followed by a statement of the research problem in the form of specific hypotheses.

The third chapter will describe the methods utilized in the gathering of the data. This chapter will not only deal with the particular methods used, but will also elaborate on some of the difficulties encountered in connection with their use.

Chapter four will deal with the analysis of the results. Included in this chapter are additional analyses beyond the testing of the actual hypotheses.

The final chapter, five, contains a discussion of the results and draws conclusions from the findings. This chapter also contains a model pertaining to ease of role transition which is used to integrate the results.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL ISSUES

Research into human behavior is limited by the instruments available. Confronted with the limitations imposed by one's research instruments, the complexity of human behavior and the quantity of unanswered questions, the researcher is obliged to settle for a limited number of questions which are amenable to the capacity of the available research techniques. The common result is that the problem cannot be satisfactorily explored.

There is no question that this forced compliance to research a limited number of variables results in a severe distortion of reality. Blumer (1956) argues that the selection of one, two or even several variables, labelled as independent or dependent, oversimplifies human behavior. However, his pleas to limit analysis to those areas of social life "that are not mediated by an interpretative process [by the participants]," seems to be over-cautious (Blumer, 1956:689).

In contrast to Blumer, Kaplan (1964) points out that models in the behavioral sciences cannot be expected to fit the data exactly. Arguing that it is the outcome of the analysis and the predictive ability of the model, rather than the content of the actions involved in the research process, that are important, he concludes that too rigorous allegiance to the model only serves to stultify understanding. Blalock (1961), acknowledging the complexity of human behavior, points out that the question is not one of models versus no models, but rather how much to oversimplify reality. Cattel (1952) argues for the place of exploratory research designed not to verify a theory, but rather to contribute to the formulation of theory.

The research herein proposed is consonant with the definitions of exploratory research. It undeniably omits numerous variables and as such oversimplifies reality. The variables related to this research problem are most elusive. It could well be that this study will in the end be found to be both a test of the instruments as well as an inquiry into the world of the adolescent. In any event, findings in either arena will contribute to future research endeavors.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This section includes an assessment and review of the literature pertinent to the study of adolescent sexual subcultures and interaction. The review of literature is arbitrarily divided into four broad areas: the interrelationship between the body and the self-concept, the self-concept in interaction, reference groups and interaction and sexual subcultures and interaction.

The Somatic Self and the Self Concept

The inter-connection between one's self view and his view toward his body is particularly important during pubescence. The always present potentials for reproduction become active at this time and the somatic self manifests new sensations. These feelings, sensations, enter into the awareness one has of self. The previously "sexless" self conception becomes sexual, relatively speaking (Simon and Gagnon, 1969).

Elder (1968) notes that the changing form of the body during adolescence enhances its salience as an object of self feelings and as a source of variation in self esteem. Elder's observations gain support from several studies among which is that of Mussen and Jones (1957). Their research demonstrated that the rate of physical maturing may indeed affect personality development in numerous ways related to self-concepts, adequacy-inadequacy feelings prolonged dependency needs.

Secord and Jourard (1953) in their studies of the degrees of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with various parts or processes of the body, body-cathexis, related these feelings with their subjects' self esteem. Studying subjects' perceived deviations from ideal body sizes, they concluded that the body and the self tended to be cathected, valuated, to the same degree. For example, low body cathexis was found to be associated with insecurity. Suggestive too is Maehr's (Maehr _et al_., 1962) work on the self concepts of adolescent males. He notes, on the basis of his research, that the self concept of adolescent males is connected with their perceived reactions of others to their physical stature. Although the last study brings into the discussion the added dimension of interaction, the important point is the close relationship between feelings about one's body and the self conception.

Numerous writers on adolescent behavior note the intense concern over physical development which dominates this period. Fraizer and Lisonbee (1950), in a very limited study, noted the great concern over physical characteristics and ideals of physical development found among their adolescent subjects. Schonfeld (1969) observes that a common concern among young adolescents is whether their development is sexually appropriate, a concern which he sees as being in part a result of the over-emphasis of unrealistic standards of attractiveness found in the mass media. Dwyer and Mayar (1968) suggest that the greater concern over physical development observed among girls is probably related to the fact that outward appearance and inward self are more closely related in the female. The intense concern over self-image among adolescent girls is viewed by at least one author as a period of time qualifying to be called an identity crisis (Gergen, 1971).

The adolescent girl's concern over her personal rate of development is not entirely unwarranted, as developmental maturity has been found to be related to prestige within the peer group. Particularly during the junior high school grades, those girls who were advanced in their physical development rated highest on prestige items when rated by the group (Faust, 1960). As Schilder (1935) stresses, the body image is not merely perceptions of the body received through one's sensations, but more importantly, mental pictures and representations involved in the image. The bodily changes and the concommitant somatic sensations have to be placed into the matrix of meaning as it pertains to the elemental and ever-present question, who am I?

The Self and Interaction

George Herbert Mead's (1956) seminal thoughts on the development of the self as a product of social interaction in effect called into question the "little man inside of man" conception of the self. The social process model of the self brought into consideration the myriad of variables which impinge on the self. Theoretically, at least, every minute of life involves new and relevant input to the on-going self concept.

To Mead the self was essentially a social process involving two analytically distinguishable phases, the "I" and the "Me". The "I" represented the impulsive tendency of the individual, the spontaneous, the unorganized aspect of human experience. The "Me" represented the incorporated other within the individual including, attitudes, definitions, meanings common to the group. Human behavior is viewed as a perpetual series of initiations of acts by the "I" and of acting-back-upon the act by the "Me". These concepts are not to be considered entities or structures, but rather as processes of behavior. The self is a process!

Besides Mead's process conception and his elaboration of the "I" and the "Me", he also introduced the important concepts of the "Other" and the "Significant Symbol". The idea that when a gesture arouses in another person essentially the same meaning as that held by the actor, a significant symbol, is well known. Further, the "Generalized Other" as the attitude of the whole community taken by the actor toward himself is basic to symbolic interactionism and is well known.

Wylie's (1961) demanding critique and summary of research on the self concept raises the troublesome methodological difficulties inherent in gathering empirically sound support for such a phenomenological postulate as the self. She observes despite the numerous phenomenological theorists, that there is no one integrative theory in existence. Instead, she argues, there is a bewildering array of hypotheses, measuring instruments and research designs, which makes synthesis difficult. Further, the theories are ambiguous, incomplete, and overlapping. The strongest of her criticisms centers on the inadequacies in conception definition. The net result and most damaging aspect of interactionist theories (phenomenological theories) is that these theories "frequently seem to point to no clear empirical referents" (p. 21). Essentially the difficulty rests on finding a systematic way to articulate the nonphenomenological determinants of behavior into theories of a phenomenological orientation. As she notes, there is a great deal of effort being expended in gathering empirical support for self theories, with few returns.

Like the concept of attitude, in many respects, the concept of self is useful in accounting for human behavior, particularly from a symbolic interaction perspective. As Allport (1955; 37ff) notes in replying to the questions of whether a concept of self is needed, "empiricists finding that they have gone as far as possible with analytic tools and being dissatisfied with the product resort ... to some concept of self in order to represent, however inadequately, the coherence, unity and purposiveness they know they have lost in their fragmentary representations." Wylie (1968) summarizes the reasons given for retention of the self-referent constructs as being based on the contention that the higher thought processes of man, the apparent contradictions and unities in motivated behavior and the uniqueness of each person require such constructs to make them understandable.

The Concept of Self

The conceptualization of the self reflects the many divisions of the phenomenon of the self. Ossorio and Davis (1968) conceptualize the self as being made up of five components which are cumulative in nature:

1 Self-Concept

What ego takes himself to be as a person is his self concept. The main function of reference to self concept appears to be to make this connection between what a person knows (believes) about himself and what he does.

2 Self as Agent

Since what a person does (with respect to others) depends on his person-descriptive appraisals of them, and since these are in part a function of his own person-characteristics, what a person does reflects what he is. An intentional action is what a person does.

3 Unity of Self

A psychological "whole" which is more than the sum of its parts. The articulation of the "whole".

4 Consistency of Self

Phrase used to direct attention to the logical consistency or motivational coherence which we see in human behavior.

5 Self Esteem

"Sense of worth"

Social practices in which we participate involve evaluations of individual difference characteristics.

The components of the self delineated by Ossorio and Davis are sufficiently comprehensive to cover most of the terms used by other writers. Numerous concepts have been developed by researchers which as Wylie (1961) notes only serves to make synthesis near to impossible. The confusion which exists is illustrated by the vaguely defined terms like self-acceptance, self-satisfaction, self-worth, self-favorability, self-adequacy, self-depreciation, etc., all of which are subsumed under the heading "Self-Regard" in her index (Wylie, 1961). It is probably safe to say that these terms could also be just as easily subsumed under the "self-esteem" component of Ossorio and Davis' (1968) system. Further listing of "components of the self" appears to be of little value.

Essentially there are two conceptualizations of the self; the self as thing and the self as process. At first it would appear that these formulations are opposites and necessarily mutually exclusive. However, as Gergen (1971) argues, such need not be the case. While the self-as-process model is generally accepted as more appropriate in representing reality, there is heuristic value in conceptualizing the self as a structure, particularly when dealing with the issue of consistency of behavior. In keeping with Kaplan's (1964) suggestion that the usefulness of the model, the payoff, is what really matters and not necessarily its correspondence to reality, Gergen (1971) argues for the utilization of several models of the self.

Whatever the model, the everpresent danger lies in the tendency to reify the homunculus, the "little man inside the head," Several self theorists, particularly Allport (1955) and Wylie (1968), warn against such directions. This pitfall can easily be avoided by bearing in mind that any model of the self, be it static or dynamic, is simply a model tendered for its heuristic value.

As noted, most theorists of the self gravitate toward a process model. Gordon's (1968:116) definition of the self might well be considered as representative of the majority of these models:

> The self is not a thing; it is a complex process of continuing interpretive activity - simultaneously the person's located subjective stream of consciousness (both reflexive and non-reflexive, including perceiving, thinking, planning, evaluation, choosing, etc.) and the resultant accruing structure of self-conceptions (the special system of self-referential meanings available to this active consciousness).

In a similar manner, Gergen (1971:22,23) submits that the notion of self can be defined both as process and then as structure:

> That process by which the person conceptualizes (or categorizes his behavior - both his external conduct and his internal states. The system of concepts available to the person in attempting to define himself.

Kinch's (1963:481) definition embodies both the dynamic and structural components in a succinct statement:

> The self concept is that organization of qualities which the individual attributes to himself (which) individual conception of self emerges from social interaction and in turn, guides or influences the behavior of that individual.

Turner (1970:29-31) isolates for conceptual purposes two components of the self: the self-conception and the self-image. The self-image is "the picture which the individual sees at a given moment...which carries with it the sense of 'the real me.'" The "I-myself as I really am," is the self conception. Turner notes that these images vary greatly in clarity varying relative to the situation in which the individual finds himself. In the same discussion, Turner hints at the possibility that the self-conception may only be identifiable by observing reactions to changing self-images in controlled situations.

The Self and the Situation

The process model, coupled with a structural component, of the self seems congruent with the other postulates of symbolic interaction theory. Since the self emerges from interaction, it necessarily follows that the self conception is in this sense the dependent variable. The self conception is relative to given situational fields. Succinctly, one does not know whom he is except in terms of others. Shifts in the self-other fields necessarily produces commensurate alterations of the self conception (Cottrell:1969).

Parenthetically, it should be noted, that the actual changes in the situational field are not nearly as important as are the subjective experience of these changes. Thomas's (1951) now famous dictum, that what a person does depends largely on his definition of the situation is worthy of note. Building on Thomas's stress on the importance of the subjective experience, Quarantelli and Cooper (1966) note that the perceived rather than the actual responses of others is what is most crucial to the formation of the self conception.

In sum, the process of self conception, while appearing to be essentially stable, is rather in constant flux, subject to the input from the actor's field. Changing self-other systems and their perceived nuances of meaning impinge upon the self process resulting in on-going modification and alteration.

The experiments of Miyamoto and Dornbusch (1956) give some empirical support for the symbolic interactionist conception of the self. They have shown that the responses and attitudes of others are related to the self conception and to an even greater degree the subject's perception of those responses is related to the subject's self conception. Similar findings are reported by Schwartz, Fearn and Stryker (1966) in their study of emotionally disturbed children and their self conceptions. They note an important linkage between the views attributed to relevant others by their emotionally disturbed subjects and the possibilities for changes in self conceptions. Both studies lend evidence to the "self-fulfilling" effect attendant with the responses of others (Merton: 1948). Further, Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) found that teacher expectations were linked to the performance of children in school. They found support for their hypothesis that teacher expectations had an effect on the performance of students (which would be linked to their self conceptions). All of these studies contribute impelling evidence concerning the connection between perceived situational fields and the self conception.

It was earlier noted that the onset of puberty elicits new responses for the subject to assimilate from others in the environment. In a very real sense the developing preadolescent may feel herself to be stigmatized. Building on Goffman's (1963) discussion of stigmatized persons, physical development can be viewed as a stigma symbol. Just as the stigmatized person assumes that his differences are known others, so also the developing adolescent is acutely aware of the fact that others will notice her "stigma." While the attributes of development can confirm the normality of one person, they can also be experienced as being deeply discrediting if felt to be lagging, i.e. a defect in the stigmatic sense.

Others are cognizant of these changes, or at least are felt to be cognizant of these changes; it makes no difference to the argument whether they are in fact cognizant or not. The perceived responses of of others are postulated to be based at least in part on the subject's experienced physiological changes. Faust's (1960) work suggests that the judgments of peer others on each other showed a significant relationship between prestige and developmental maturity.

While Mead's (1956) "conversation of gestures" certainly provides for much more than the verbal and emotive components of interaction, most work in this area has considered little else. Appearance qualifies as an important factor in any model of symbolic interaction. Stone (1962:87), for example, states that the perspective of symbolic interaction "requires (demands) consideration of appearance for the adequate interpretation of social transactions as well as the careers of selves in such transactions". The appearance of the actors sets the stage for, permits, sustains, and delimits the possibilities of discourse by underwriting the possibilities of meaningful discussion. Stone argues that Mead's "communication" suffers from a discursive bias and proposes that the perspective be broadened to include: (1962:87,88)

1 Every social transaction must be broken down into at least two analytic components or processes - appearance and discourse.

2 Appearance is at least as important for the establishment and maintenance of the self as is discourse.

3 The study of appearance provides a powerful lever for the formulation of a conception of self capable of embracing the contributions of Cooley and Sullivan as well as Mead.

4 Appearance is of major importance at every stage of the early development of self.

In developing his case for inclusion of appearance as a component of interaction, Stone argues that the responses mobilized in others by clothes form the basis by which identities are placed, values appraised, moods appreciated and attitudes anticipated. A schematic presentation of this model summarizes the exchanges based on appearance which occur in interaction (see Figure I).

Stone's argument is that people select their clothes and how they will wear them in an effort to get others to form the desired impression. In this way one attempts to get validation for one's own conception of self and at the same time helps the other to act appropriately in the situation. Stone's arguments are weakened somewhat by the present availability of imported clothes which tend to eradicate the differences between classes of people in terms of being "in" or "out" of dress. Further his arguments fail to take into account that the present form of merchandizing, in which current fashion is the only style available, which in effect places restrictions upon his contention that people select their clothes and how they will wear them in an effort to form impressions. With these limitations in mind, Stone's arguments for the inclusion of dress as an important variable in the symbolic interaction model merit consideration.

Referring to the model, Figure I, it is observed that by appearance a person announces his identity, shows his value, expresses his mood, or proposes his attitude. The responses of the "reviewer" (alter), placement, appraisal, appreciation and/or anticipation either confirm (validate) or deny (invalidate) the program of appearance.

Germane to this discussion is Stone's observation that "when programs (responses made by the wearer about the wearer) and reviews

FIGURE I

STONE'S MODEL OF THE MEANING OF APPEARANCE

REVIEW OF APPEARANCE

Program of Appearance	Placement	Appraisal	Appreciation	Anticipation
Announcement	Identity			
Show		Value		
Expression			Mood	
Proposal				Attitude

(responses of others to the wearer) tend to coincide, the self of the one who appears (the one whose clothing elicited such responses) is validated or established; when such responses tend toward disparity, the self of the one who appears is challenged, and conduct may be expected to move in the direction of some redefinition of the challenged self (1962:92). While Stone, in arguing the case for dress, fails to take into account the other variables of interaction, such as conversation, voice, facial expression, he builds a strong case for the inclusion of appearance in any model purporting to reflect human interaction.

The linkage of the self-concept to the responses of others to one's appearance and discourse is apparent. The next section will deal with specific referent others and their relationship to the self. After a preliminary discussion of reference group theory, several specific referent others will be considered more closely: parents, cliques, peers and the media. Though there are obviously numerous referent others, these in particular have been selected as being of primary importance to this inquiry.

Reference Groups and Interaction

Thirty years ago Hyman (1942) introduced the concept of the reference group, which became and still remains a widely employed analytical tool. Roughly a quarter of a century later, Hyman wrote, "the fact that men may shape their attitudes by reference to groups other than their own and their self-evaluations by the choice of unusual points of social comparison is the distinctive contribution of reference group theory" (Hyman and Singer, 1948:4). While few would doubt this contribution, it would also have to be noted that the concept still suffers from lack of consensus both in definition and usage. Williams (1970:550), in her very thorough and succinct summation and appraisal of reference group theory sums up the situation, "The reference group concept, despite its wide use ...., is still not conceptually clarified."

It should be noted (at this point) that there are some peculiar pitfalls connected with the concept. Cohen (1962:104) emphasizes the circularity of the concept when he writes, "Your reference group is a group that you behave like and you behave like them because they're your reference group." One problem connected with the term involves its deterministic use: reference groups determine behavior or motivations and needs will determine choice of reference groups. In either case, the reference group determinist fails to account for the "bargaining" which may go on between the individual and the reference groups available to him in the process of arriving at a viewpoint.

Kelly (1968) defines two functions of the reference group: the group toward which the individual is motivated to gain or maintain acceptance and the group which is used by the individual as a reference point in assessing and/or molding his behavior. Turner (1956) and Kemper (1968) both see reference groups performing three functions: providing norms and values, providing judgment upon behavior and providing others who are accounted for in interaction. Turner refers to three different reference groups as being indentification, valuation and interaction groups and then adds a fourth category, audience, which he sees as cutting across all three groups.

Kemper's (1968) system makes provision for three functions as noted in the preceding paragraph and refers to them as normative, comparison and audience groups. Kemper's system eliminates Turner's audience group. The conceptual distinctions identified above are summarized in Figure II.

Shibutani (1955) argues that usage should be restricted to groups whose outlook is used by the actor as a form of reference in the organization of his perceptual field. This, he argues, will increase its usefulness in research. Consistent with Shibutani's preference, Sherif (1953:214) says, "The individual's directive attitudes, namely, ego-attitudes, which define and regulate his behavior to other persons, other groups and to an important extent even to himself, are formed in relation to values and norms of his reference group."

Kuhn (1964) suggests that the term "reference group" is in effect too limiting and would better be referred to as orientational other. This term, as he sees it refers to:

1 Others to whom the individual is most fully, broadly and basically committed emotionally and psychologically.

2 Others who have provided him with his general vocabulary, including his most basic and crucial concepts and categories.

3 Others who have provided and continue to provide him with categories of self and other and with the meaningful roles to which such assignments refer.

4 Others in communication with whom his self-conception is basically sustained and/or changed.

FIGURE II

FUNCTIONS OF REFERENCE GROUPS: TURNER AND KEMPER COMPARED

Essential Functions	Turner's System	Kemper's System
1 Providing norms and values	Idenitification	Normative
2 Providing judgment upon behavior	Valuation	Audience
3 Providing others who are accounted for in interaction	Interaction	Comparison
4 May be in above groups - cuts across all of them	Audience	X X X

The trend seems to be toward a broader referent of the concept of reference group. Hyman (1960), in a speech entitled, "Reflections on Reference Groups," given twenty years after he coined the concept suggests that more use be made of reference individuals and makes implicit pleas for broadening the concept.

It is the position of this author that reference group will find its greatest value if expanded to encompass any referent other in the subjective experience of the actor. This would have the effect of breaking the bonds imposed by "group" and the requirement of "objective existence". In this context the term "reference set" seems closest to the application herein suggested. Kemper (1966) uses the term "set" to mean the individual's configuration of significant others; the sum total of others - present/absent, real/imagined, individual/group, normative/comparative/or audience who exercise influence over the individual. Sherif and Sherif (1969) echo this definition when they define reference set as a category of people who are not a group as such, i.e. women, social class, etc., in which a person's attitudes and goals are anchored.

In his discussion, of reference group behavior, Eisenstadt (1954) fluctuates in usage between reference group and reference norms and concludes that reference norms most often are in fact made up of norms from several groups. In essence, he too, argues for an expanded usage of this important conceptual tool.

Under this broadened definition, the concept still retains the essential character of being the source of the individual's values or perspectives, but is expanded to non-objective others. "If men define situations as real they are real in their consequence" (Thomas, 1927;81).

The issue rests with the effect of the referent other on the actor, which in this sense is objective, rather than with the objective existence of the referent apart from the actor. Viewed in the light of Thomas' dictum, the referent becomes objective in its effect.

Shibutani (1955:569) supports this position when he notes that the crucial problem for reference group theory is, "ascertaining how a person defines the situation, which perspective he uses in arriving at such a definition and who constitutes the audience whose responses provide the necessary confirmation and support for his position." This observation is consistent with the symbolic interactionist position that the nature of reality is neither relevant or necessarily even knowable.

Merton and Rossi (1968) observe a connection between reference groups and anticipatory socialization. Individuals may take as a reference group a nonmembership group to which they aspire to belong and begin to socialize themselves to what they perceive to be its norms before they are ever exposed to its influence.

With the onset of pubescence come numerous referent sets to which the maturing girl can turn, both normative and comparative. Some of these sets will obviously be more salient than others. Those groups generally noted by researchers in this area are parents, peers, cliques and the media. Within her possible referent sets might be the ideals of attractiveness, femininity, popularity, etc. Specific groups, parents, peers, cliques and the media shall be the concern of the ensuing discussion.

How these "other" responses are incorporated into the self conception will be determined by numerous variables; such as, the previous self conceptual scheme, the ability to attain correspondence in meaning with the cues of others, and which others are salient in the interaction.

Orientational Others: Parents

Few self theorists, if any, would dispute the cogent role of the parents in the development of the child's self system, particularly self-esteem. It is reasonable to expect that the parents, who hold a virtual monopoly on communications through childhood, would play a major role in the self esteem of the child (Rosenberg, 1967). As Cottrell (1969) observes, the self-other patterns established earlier in the developmental history of the person appear to persist more than those established later. Dager's (1964;765) cautious statement perhaps best summarizes the consensus concerning the nature of the relationship between parents and childrens' self conceptions:

> "Although there is little doubt that interpersonal familial relationships have an impact upon the personality, there is little specific evidence which will permit us to conclude that a particular type of parent-child interaction will result in a particular personality. Certainly, the total atmosphere in the home and the totality of the personality configurations of mother, father, and siblings are of significance to the neophyte."

The importance of the parental dyad follows logically from three premises: the self concept is a learned constellation of perceptions, cognitions and values; an important part of this learning comes from observing the reactions one gets from other persons; and parents are the persons who are present earliest and most consistently. As Wylie (1961) observes, it is because of the child's dependence upon them and his affection for them, that the parents have a unique opportunity to selectively reinforce the child's learning.

Frequently cited in discussions regarding the influence of parents on the self conceptions of their children is the study reported by Jourard and Remy (1955). Focusing on the body-cathexis and self-conceptions of adolescent boys, they found supporting correlations between the boys' attitudes about their bodies and their beliefs concerning the attitudes of their parents toward their bodies. Similar relationships were found between the boys' attitudes toward themselves and their beliefs concerning their parents attitudes toward themselves by these researchers. The authors note, however, that their findings may only reflect a function of self conception and a tendency to similar attribution to the parents. Wylie (1961), in discussing their work, makes a similar observation; that the findings cannot reveal whether the subjects' perceptions of their parents feelings were indeed accurate. Schonfield (1969) observes that the child's assessment of his body reflects the values of those who take care of him.

Rosenberg (1963) reports evidence from his work that perceived indifference in parents is associated with a lower self esteem in the child, even lower than in cases where the parents are perceived to have negative attitudes toward the child.

Recognizing the limitations of Response-Response designs (the "Self" is not directly accessible for measurement), there are several findings which are suggestive as to the connection between parents and the child's self concept which are summarized by Wylie (1961):

1. Children's self concepts are similar to the view of themselves which they attribute to their parents.

2 A child's level of self-regard is associated with the parents' reported level of regard for him.

3 Children see the like-sex parent's self concept (as contrasted to the opposite-sex parent's self concept) as being somewhat more like their own self concept.

In regard to Wylie's "findings" Sherwood's (1965) remarks are of interest. He notes that where the stimulus is ambiguous, its perception is determined more by the characteristics of the perceiver than by the characteristics of the stimulus. He concludes that self-evaluation (self-conception) is more of an effect of self esteem than of actual valuation by others.

Orientational Others: Peers

Peer groups have long been noted as important reference sets. Through the specific linkage between the peer group and the self-concept has yet to be empirically demonstrated and delineated, most theorists see important connections. Consistent with Wylie's criticisms concerning all R-R research designs, Campbell (1964) notes, in the introduction to his essay on peer groups and children, that there is the ever-present problem of separating concomitance from causation.

Explicit in Coleman's (1961) work is the position that the social structure of North America virtually guarantees that the adolescent will be confined to a separate society, an adolescent society. He argues that the adolescent, by virtue of the almost dominating school experience, is segregated with peer, "cut off" from the rest of society. Since Coleman's work, numerous studies have accumulated data which has verified what has long been suspected about Coleman's work, essentially that he overstated the case (Campbell, 1969). There seems to be little question that peer groups are linked to the self concept, but the question of degree still remains open.

Rosen (1955), in his study of Jewish high school students, found that when the attitudes of the family conflicted with those of peers regarding the use of kosher meat, that the peer group tended to wield more influence. Neiman (1954) concludes on the basis of his work that peer groups exert more influence than parents in attitudes toward the feminine role. Both of these studies related specific choice or decision situations to the peer group variable.

In his study of grade nine through eleven girls, Brittain (1963:390) concluded that "the responses of adolescents to parent-peer cross-pressures are a function of the content of the alternatives and that peer-conformity varies systematically across situations." Essentially, he concludes that the role of parents and peers in the decision making process among adolescents is not an either or, all or nothing, situation, but rather fluctuates depending on the nature of the decision and other relationships. The findings of Brittain seem to be suggestive of the observation made by the Sherifs (1964:250) in their work on reference groups:

> "Group norms most binding and most consequential in the members' scheme of concerns are the ones that regulate matters of solidarity among members and that set standards of conduct in the very spheres of motivational promptings that brought them together."

A critique of Brittain's "situational approach" to the study of parent-peer reference groups is offered by Larson (1972), who questions some of the basic assumptions underlying Brittain's conclusions.

Based on his research, Larson argues that situational dilemmas (the technique used by Brittain) are not necessarily indicators of the adolescent's relationship with either parents or peers. After assessing his adolescent subjects in terms of their parent or peer orientations he confronted them with personalized situational dilemmas. He found that the parent or peer orientations were sustained for the majority of adolescents in situations which involved low priority content alternatives that had only a temporal impact. Where decisions were called for which related to future roles, parent-peer orientations had a diminishing effect. This suggests that the impact of reference groups depends on the nature of the decision being made.

Larson's critique of Brittain's methodology and his own use of "hypothetical situations" which provided only "limited insight" points out the difficulties involved in researching reference group theory.

Several studies have noted the importance of clothing to social acceptance in the junior and senior high schools and this finding is consistent with the observation that dress is one of the ways that one avoids being too different, thereby breaking the group solidarity (Cannon, _et_. _al_., 1952).

One finding regarding the influence of the peer group which is particularly relevant to this research is that girls are more likely to be influenced by the peer group than boys (Campbell, 1964: Soloman, 1963). Supportive of Campbell's findings are those of Larson (1969) who reported that females were found to be proportionately more best friend oriented than males. The findings of Neiman (1954) regarding the influence of the peer group on the feminine role has already been noted. This observed greater influence of peers upon female adolescents is obviously related to the findings that girls conceive of the group as a setting in which to find close dyadic relationships (Douvan and Gold, 1966).

That peer groups are influential in the life of the adolescent and that their influence is greater among girls than boys is widely noted. However, the factors operative in peer group choice and subsequent influence strength are widely debated. As noted, conceptualizations which pit the peer group against parents are oversimplified.

Orientational Others: Clique Groups

Before proceeding to a discussion of clique groups, it should be noted that there is a strong tendency in the literature to treat peer groups and clique groups as synomonous. While there is a distinctive characteristic about the clique group, intimacy, which is noted by many, the similarities between the peer and clique concepts are striking. It could be argued that in effect the two are synomonous, for during this age level the peers who are most influential are those within the clique group. The following discussion on cliques for these reasons seems to be an artificial separation and should perhaps be viewed in this light. Suffice it to say that what has been said about peers is certainly applicable to cliques.

Clique groups, as the Sherifs (1964) note, are a specified case of reference group, like peers, buddies, club, crowd, friends, etc. Hollingshead's (1949) study of Elmtown's youth led him to an appreciation of the influence of this reference set. As he notes, a clique, "comes into existence when two or more persons are related to one another in an intimate fellowship that involves going places and doing things together, a mutual exchange of ideas and the acceptance of each personality by the other," (Hollingshead, 1949:205). Intimacy seems to be the distinguishing element which sets this concept apart from peers. He notes the powerful influence of these groups during the pre-adolescent years up to and in some cases including the dating years. Hollingshead's findings that these cliques are confined to social classes is also noted by Douvan and Gold (1966).

The influence of the clique, the peer group, as a normative and comparative referent has been noted. Consistent with Campbell's (1964) observation that the average amount of time spent in family settings decreases and that time spent in group settings increases through childhood into adolescence, is the suggestion that these groups have an important influence on the self concept. Mannheim (1966) found that to the extent individuals perceived a discrepancy between their referent sets and self image, they tended to change their self image over time in the direction of their reference group self. Manis' (1955) work sought to test a similar hypothesis, that there would be an increase in agreement over time between an individual's self concept and his friends perception of him.

As Wylie (1961) notes, the influence of peers, significant others, on the self conception is rarely if ever disputed. In spite of the reasonableness of the proposition, empirical support is weak, due primarily to the R-R design problems and the difficulties connected with making directional inferences.

All that has been said to this point, regarding the importance of the peer groups and difficulties of investigation, can be summed up by the study conducted by Mirande (1968). Using an R-R design, he avoids the direction issue by hypothesizing that "the sexual behavior of an individual will tend to be a function of the expectations of his peer reference group, irrespective of the direction of influence" (p. 576). The hypothesis was verified and the following observation made, still non-directional; "persons are influenced by the expectations of peers, but they also tend to seek out groups which reinforce their psychological predispositions," (p. 576).

Orientational Others: The Media

The final reference set to be considered is the media. It is widely argued that the media are highly influential in shaping both attitudes and behavior. Generally such arguments are most vociferously employed in connection with portrayals of violence and pornography (Wertham, 1953). While the debates on the effects of the mass media go on, researchers continue to point out that there is little sound empirical evidence into the effects of the media. The conclusion of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography (1970:32), related specifically to erotic media, summarizes the more general findings of research into the effects of the media whatever their form or content, "empirical research designed to clarify the question has found no evidence to date that exposure to explicit sexual materials plays a significant role in causation of deliquent or criminal behavior among youth or adults."

Berelson's (1948:172) statement (though written twenty years ago) summarizes the present state of communications research, "some kinds of communication on some kinds of issues, brought to the attention of some kinds of people under some kinds of conditions have some kinds of effects." Contrary is a common idea that the media act upon people, Weiss (1969) points out that the effect of the media is more a function of what people use the media for, rather than what the media do to people. The implication is clear; the effect of the media appears to be determined more by the recipient than by the message.

Davison (1959) points out that the audience is not a passive recipient, but that persons select that which is useful to them. The communicator can influence attitudes and behavior most effectively when he is able to convey information that may be utilized by members of his audience to satisfy their wants and needs.

Much of the concern over the effects of the media are based on an analysis of the content. There is little question that there are sexual themes, violence and other "undesirable" content. However, the fallacy, as Weiss (1969) notes, is to assume effects on the basis of content analysis. To assume that the implicit or even the explicit "message" is received, let alone received intact, is an assumption with little support (Weiss, 1969).

Germane to this research is the issue of audience predisposition. The media appear to function most effectively when the wants and needs of the users are being met, "what people use the media for rather than what the media do to people," (Weiss, 1969:115). The pubescent girl, as has been noted, is confronted with a newly emerging self concept, a sexual self. Her referent sets become important mirrors by which this process of conceptualization is facilitated. One obvious referent set containing definite themes of importance to emerging sexual identity, body ideals, beauty ideals, grooming aids, romantic themes, etc., are the media. If these referents are "sought out," then the evidence would suggest that these media will have an effect. On this basis, of what is known about the effects of the media and concomitant conditions, it can be assumed that the media constitute an important reference set in the life of the pubescent girl.

One suggestive finding is that of Himmelweit, Oppenheim and Vince (1958). They note in their studies of the effects of television on youth that television tended to reinforce the girls' sense of insecurity by failing to provide reassuring models. Schonfeld (1969) contends that the media contribute to the adolescent stress over body image by overemphasizing unrealistic standards of beauty and attractiveness. McCandless (1969:815) observes that the media provide a flow of sexual stimulation from subtle to open and direct and concludes that this "probably makes it impossible for a child to suppress sex in our culture."

In conclusion, it is clear that the media appear to be influential when sought by the user. The pubescent female in her quest for self conceptualization as a sexual being would have reason to utilize this very present referent set. Therefore, she would appear to be receptive to the "messages."

Sexual Subcultures and Interaction

It is widely agreed that the major ascribed role prescription is that of sex-role. Socialization into sex role appropriate behavior begins with the determination of the sex of the child and continues throughout life (Mead, 1949). While there are similarities in sex appropriate behavior prescriptions cross culturally, the variation between cultures is manifestly diverse. The sex role socialization of North American children has been the subject of intensive study and there is general consensus regarding the content of such socialization.

While there is general consensus on the various stages in sex role socialization, there is some important disagreement as to the mechanisms whereby sex role learning and identification takes place. Though there are numerous subtle differences between socialization theories, theories in this area may be subsumed under three major divisions: Freudian, social learning and cognitive developmental. There is no need to explicate each of these theoretical positions in this context as each position is thoroughly developed by the major proponents of each (Miller, 1969; Bandura, 1969; Kohlberg, 1969). Figure III summarizes the three positions as they pertain to the male. Kohlberg's (1966) summary (Figure III) should suffice to highlight the differences in the theories.

Whatever the mechanisms involved in the learning of appropriate sex role behavior, the important point relevant to this discussion centers on the form taken in this culture. A well articulated description of sex role development and its related behavior is furnished by Udry (1971). Of importance to this discussion is the psychological, and to a lesser degree the physical, separation of the sexes which occurs around the ages of five and six in our culture. As the young males withdraw from their female peers in their struggle to demonstrate and achieve masculinity, in part accomplished by rejection of females, two sexual subcultures, which are entered at an important time in the development of the child,

FIGURE III

A COMPARISON OF THE FREUDIAN, SOCIAL LEARNING AND COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENTAL MODELS OF SEX-ROLE LEARNING

1. Desire for mother Fear of father's retaliation	1. Attachment to father as major rewarder (punisher/controller)	1. Sex-typed identity
2. Identification with father	2. Identification - modeling of father	2. Modeling of father
3. Sex-typed identity	3. Sex-typed identity	3. Attachment to father

provide differing attitudes and views which serve to keep the two sexes psychologically segregated up to the time of dating and under certain conditions beyond. The difficulties related to this period are well known and might well be summarized by Lynn (1969:35, 36) who describes the period when boys must reject their mother-identification as a "problem for boys, a lesson for girls".

As noted, the separation of the sexes results in the development of two separate sexual subcultures with differing perspectives. Berger and Luchmann's (1966) important treatise on the sociology of knowledge argues for the importance of culture in determining one's perception of the world. The essence of their argument is the social construction of reality. One's culture constructs the world in which one exists. A reasonable extension of their argument would suggest that one's subcultures also may have a similar effect upon one's perception of the "world out there". By virtue of their identification with sexual subcultures, males and females see things differently, particularly as these perceptions are related to the area of sexual interaction (Didato and Kennedy, 1956; Ehrmann, 1959). Under such conditions, males and females would have the tendency to attribute their perspective to the other sex. Males would see females as viewing the world as males, females would see males as viewing the world as they do.

While such discrepancies in perceptions have been well catalogued, the utilization of differing social realities as an analytical tool is less frequent. Each sex views the world in terms of their reference set, the components of which differ importantly.

In sum, prepubescent boys and girls become psychologically segregated (the girls more by default than by choice) in this stage of sex role development. Enveloped in differing subcultures, they tend to acquire differing perceptions of the world. Making the natural "ethnocentric" mistake, they assume that their perspective is the sole perspective and unwittingly attribute their viewpoint to the members of the other sex.

As a result of this subcultural socialization, sex for the male is divorced from emotional involvement and is viewed primarily as a means of demonstrating masculinity (Udry, 1971). The pubescent male, while not particularly interested in girls, is intensely interested in sex. As Udry observes, sex is regarded by the males as something to be "done to girls" and which girls, if properly approached, "let boys have" (Udry, 1966:74 - 88).

The female subculture differs markedly. Girls are more concerned with sociability, popularity and attractiveness. Discussions of males are highly romanticized and sex is intrinsically bound up with "being in love" (Udry, 1971). Femininity is coupled with physical attractiveness, which in turn is based on ideals which pervade our society (Jourard and Secord, 1955).

The differences observed in the two subcultures toward sexuality are summarized by Simon and Gagnon (1969) who observe that males are committed to sexuality and relatively untrained in romantic love while females are committed to romantic love and relatively untrained in sexuality. As Udry (1966:83) puts it, "while boys are looking at erotic pictures, girls are studying fashion". Ehrmann's (1959) research led him to conclude that the female subculture is rich in symbols of love, while the male subculture is rich in symbols of sex.

The separation of the sexes at this time in their development results in discrepant meanings being attached to each others' behavior and self presentations. These differing definitions of reality restrict the accuracy of understanding which each sex has for the other. These differing perceptual frameworks become critical when heterosexual interaction begins in dating.

Of the many symbolic interactionist conceptualizations of human interaction, the sequence furnished by McCall and Simmons (1966) is useful to this discussion.

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In their etiology of the interact McCall and Simmons distinguish four stages: imputation, improvisation, presentation and altercasting. Imputation involves the attribution of a role to alter. These social identities may be 'read' from alter's physical appearance to a limited degree, but most frequently involve inferences made from visible cues and meanings attributed to behavior. Involved in this stage is also the imputation of purposes and motives. This process is similar to that described by Turner (1956) as role-taking. This role taking metaphor implies that ego has some of the components available in his internal self-other repertoire which are similar to the identities being imputed.

The second stage, improvisation, refers essentially to the modification of ego's role by ego to maximize the anticipated interaction benefits to ego. As McCall and Simmons (p.136), "It is in this fashion that the role we impute to alter influences the contents of our own roles, by making certain of our role-identities (those for which alter's role constitutes opportunities) are more salient in the situation."

The third stage, the presentation of self, has been explored in depth by Goffman (1959). This stage is expressive in nature, for it amounts to "controlling one's expressive behaviors to convey to alter an image of the character one desires to assume in the situation" (McCall and Simmons, 1966:138). Essentially, ego is making a claim regarding his identity, a claim which may or may not be acknowledged by alter(s) depending in great measure upon the quality of the "performance".

The fourth and final stage in the etiology of the interact is altercasting. In the claim to identity, presentation of self, is implicit the simultaneous expression of who ego takes alter to be. Alter is in a sense "cast" into a role by ego's presentation of self. However, this casting process may be to varying degrees accepted or even rejected by the response of alter.

In the McCall and Simmons model, human interaction is viewed in essence as negotiation. Each participant in the interaction negotiates his role in the encounter until a satisfactory compromise is attained. Through numerous models of the interact have been constructed-transaction, game, bargaining - all of them have in common the idea of negotiation and mutual compromise necessary to the continuance of the interaction (Berne, 1964; Homans, 1958; Goffman, 1961).

The progression of the interact as traced by the above model leads to a consideration of the earlier discussion regarding sexual subcultures. As earlier noted, the social realities presented by these two subcultures differ significantly. As a result of these differing social realities, reference sets, the definitional components of any interaction between them will not be entirely congruous. Depending upon the amount of the other subcultural perspective known to ego, the whole process of imputation, improvisation, presentation, and altercasting will be based on more or less erroneous assumptions [attributions] about the members of the other subculture. The importance of this observation will be expanded in a later section.

Kemper's (1968) audience referent is particularly useful in understanding the role of male peers in relation to the pubescent female. As noted, boys and girls are in many ways separated from meaningful interaction in the earlier years of adolescence, although they share the same coeducational environment. Yet, they are very important "others" in the self-other systems of each. The male peers function at this age much in the role of the audience referent. As many sex role writers note, the early adolescent girl defines femininity in terms of male acceptance and approval (Kohlberg, 1966; Kagan, 1964). This follows from the assumption that the girl's sex role identification is based more on identification with the complementary (father) role than is the boy's (Hetherington, 1965). The male peers become very salient referent sets in the life of the young girl, though sexual interaction is minimal. Girls impute values to them and work for rewards stemming from their perceived approval of their appearance and behaviors.

Several researchers have found that sex-typed attributes are widely shared in the culture (Kagan, 1964). The culture has sex role standards which are shared. These meanings, while very much a part of early sex-role development, become meaningful at the time of adolescence.

This is the period when society first acknowledges the sexual capacity of the individual and the meanings of masculinity and femininity rehearsed in childhood and assimilated in many non-sexual ways become joined with one's now salient sexuality (Simon and Gagnon, 1969).

Further, the ideals of masculinity and femininity are not peculiar to their respective subcultures, but are culturally shared. Jourard and Secord (1955) note in their research on body-cathexis and self feelings that there is a subjective ideal shared among females, and obviously among males, regarding the ideal feminine form. While it is true that ideals of feminine form and appearance are culturally shared, it should be obvious from the preceding that the meaning attendent to these ideals do not exhibit such commonality.

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The world of fashion, for example, is a stimulus to both the male and the female. Yet through the imputations given fashion, style and clothes, by the two subcultures numerous and differing meanings are evoked. In essence, the stimulus is shared, but the responses differ subculturally.

In conclusion, the essential ideas of this section require reiteration. The effects of the sex role developmental process in our culture in producing sexual subcultures has been discussed. These diverse subcultural differences should be related to the process of symbolic interaction with the notation that differing perspectives will result in discrepant meanings being brought into the interaction by the participants.

In Review

Before integrating the preceding into the conceptual model from which the hypotheses will be developed, a concise summary of the literature will be presented. This will be conducted following the four divisions developed in the review of literature.

Pubescence marks the onset of sexual maturity. The numerous components of sex role behavior learned as a child are at this time reset into the context of sexual meaning. The somatic component of the self necessarily incorporates the added dimension of sexuality, which impinges on the self conceptualization process.

The self concept is a process. As the person interacts in new and varied self-other systems, the self undergoes change. Important in this process of change is the person's subjective experience of his self-other systems.

The somatic experience of emerging sexuality coupled with the perceived reactions of others heightens the saliency of the appearance variable in the ever-changing self matrix. The responses of others in the situational field are the mirrors by which feelings about the self are formulated.

Utilizing the concept of reference set, the configuration of all significant others subjectively experienced, it was noted that many significant referents impinge on the pubescent female. Building on the idea that reality is what is experienced, rather than what is "out there," it was concluded that the girl's perception of her reference sets, orientational others, were of paramount importance to her self conceptual process.

Several reference sets were explored: parents, peers, cliques, and the media. Each of these were seen as being theoretically important. The parents were noted as being particularly important because of the quantity of time they commanded in the early life of the girl. Peers and cliques come to the fore with pubescence and in varying degrees vie with the parents as referents. The media become important as the girl turns to them for orientation.

The literature germane to the development of sex roles was reviewed with the notation that in our society the socialization process virtually guarantees the emergence of sexual subcultures. These subcultures act to furnish differing social realities by which the world is viewed.

The interaction model of McCall and Simmons (1966) was developed. Persons in interaction negotiate common definitions of each other's place in the interaction. One's success in interacting with others depends upon one's abilities in the process of negotiation (Kohlberg, 1966).

It follows that the ability to negotiate in interaction is not enhanced by differing social realities; specifically those realities furnished by the sexual subcultures. Interaction with the other sex brings these two realities together as the participants seek to negotiate the terms of their relationship.

Differing sexual subcultural realities influence the imputations placed on others, specifically to males by females. Finally though the media contain elements of both subcultures, they are reacted to in terms of the meanings furnished by the social reality of the viewer.

Conceptual Approach

One of the seminal contributions of Goffman (1959) to symbolic interaction theory is the idea of impression management. To successfully manage one's presentation of self, one must make minimal assumptions and attributions about one's others, either based on familiarity and knowledge or based out of necessity or speculation.

In the case of the pubescent female, she assumes that significant and relevant others are aware of her stage of development. Appearance increases in saliency in her self concept as a result. One of the more important elements in the definition of femininity is the approval by others of her appearance.

A major orientational other is the male peer audience. Though her interaction is at first minimal, she nevertheless begins the process for which her culture prepares her, of turning to them, among others, for cues of approval. It follows, that in order to elicit male approval and acceptance, she must successfully present herself, manage her impression. To do this she makes certain postulates about the values and perspectives of this audience. There are good reasons, the existence of sexual subcultures, why she may have difficulty in achieving correspondence between her imputations and their imputations. These differing perspectives and the dilemma they create constitute the core of this study.

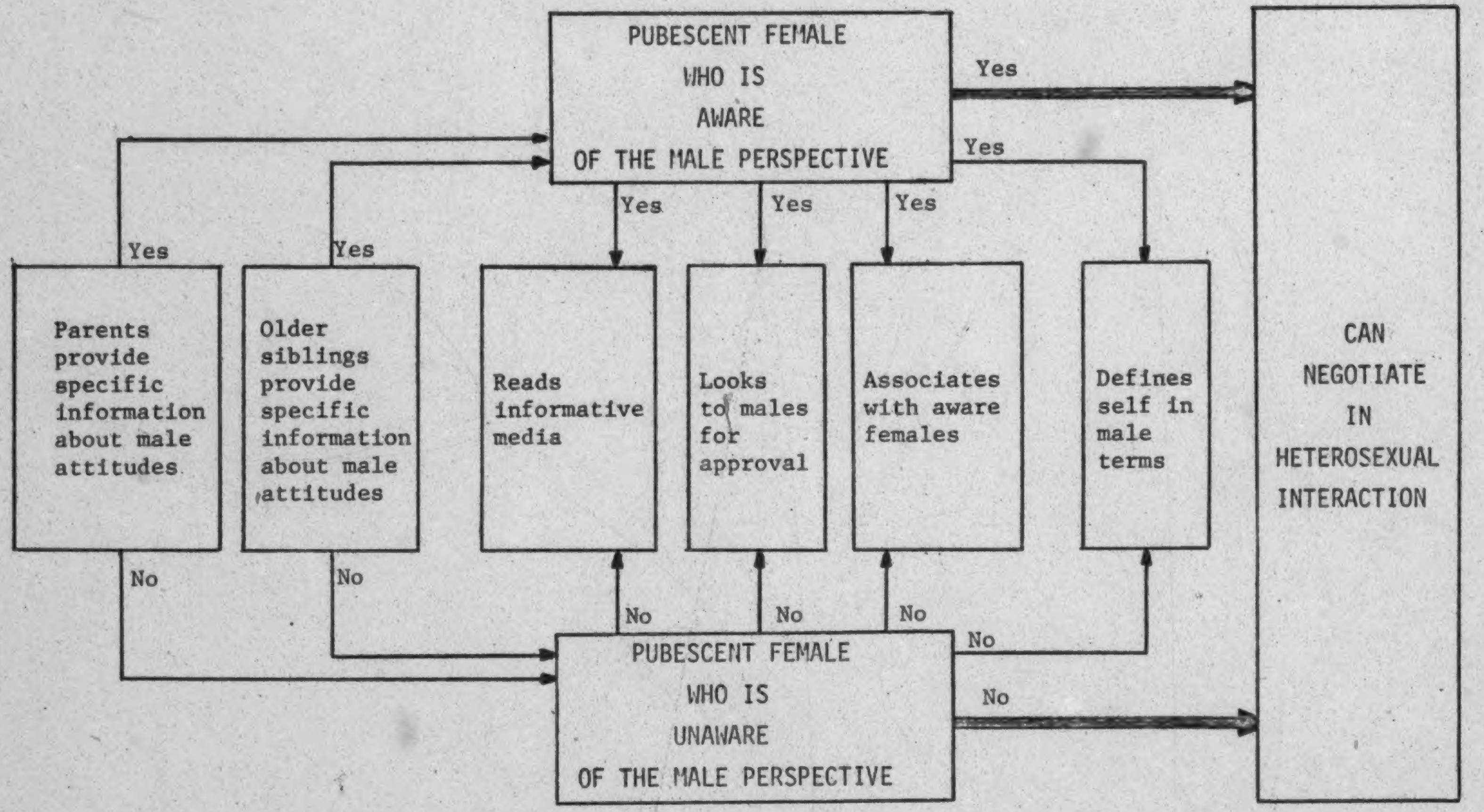
Figure IV. provides a diagramatic illustration of this approach. The first issue apparent in the schematic is whether pubescent females can effectively negotiate heterosexual interaction. The model assumes that girls who are relatively aware of the content of the male subculture can be more successful in negotiating heterosexual interactions to secure their expectations and goals. Aware girls would be cognizant of some of the characteristically male perceptual attitudes as they pertain to the interaction. For example, girls who are aware would likely know that boys are very interested in girls who are developmentally precocious. In contrast the unaware girl might think that her personality is one of the main interests of boys rather than her physical characteristics.

Secondly, the chart emphasizes the influence of reference sets on female insight into the male perspective. The first group of reference sets is made up of significant others who contribute to her awareness prior to heterosexual interaction. In their role as anticipatory socializers, parents and older siblings can provide information about male attitudes. The content of these communications may range from being very specific to vague or even non-existent. Specific information might come in the form of warning the girl that some boys may attempt to fondle her breasts; or if vague in nature, the same information might take the form of a warning to be careful when with boys. The model indicates that direct and specific information from these significant others contributes to the girl being more fully aware of the male perspective.

The third principle seen in the diagram is that aware girls seek out and utilize certain other reference sets which further contribute

FIGURE IV.

PROPOSITIONS IN A THEORY OF THE SOURCES AND EFFECTS OF AWARENESS OF MALE SUBCULTURAL MATERIAL AMONG PUBESCENT AND POST-PUBESCENT GIRLS


PUBESCENT FEMALE WHO IS AWARE OF THE MALE PERSPECTIVE
Yes
Yes
Yes
Yes
Yes
Yes
Yes
Parents provide specific information about male attitudes
Older siblings provide specific information about male attitudes
Reads informative media
Looks to males for approval
Associates with aware females
Defines self in male terms
CAN NEGOTIATE IN HETEROSEXUAL INTERACTION
No
No
No
No
No
No
No
PUBESCENT FEMALE WHO IS UNAWARE OF THE MALE PERSPECTIVE

to her knowledge about males. These reference sets include males, the media and peers. The aware girl orients toward securing male approval. Her orientation toward males also results in her being further sensitized to cues from the males which might tell her what they value in girls. Because of her desire for male approval she turns to the media, particularly the printed media, which will furnish her with information about what is necessary to secure male approval. Fashion magazines and teen magazines incorporate large amounts of information about dressing for male approval and advice on how to act for male acceptance. The third reference set toward which she orients and one which further contributes to her awareness are her peers. The model indicates that the aware girl will associate with girls who are similarly aware and oriented. Through this association with like minded peers, the girl adds to her growing awareness of the attitudes of boys through interchange with these girls about experiences with boys.

Finally, the model indicates that aware girls, seeking male approval, will utilize male perspectives in defining themselves. This is to say, that in being desirous of their approval these girls assess and define themselves in male terms.

These six reference sets represent the major determinants of awareness of the content of the male subculture among pubescent and post-pubescent girls. Being aware means being able to understand the meanings of the male symbols and cues, which in turn results in being better equipped to "manage" heterosexual interaction. Stated differently, the unaware girl is more likely to fall victim to the "male line." This model generates the following general hypothesis and specific hypotheses.

THE AWARENESS OF MALE SEXUAL IMPUTATIONS AMONG PUBESCENT FEMALES IS RELATED TO A KNOWLEDGE OF MEDIA CONTENT AND THE ATTITUDES OF PARENTS AND PEERS

The existence of sexual subcultures is perquisite to the problem in interaction set forth in the preceding discussion. The nature and content of these sexual subcultures are set forth in the first set of hypotheses. The hypotheses are consistent with the observations made by Udry (1971) concerning the content of the male and female subcultures.

HYPOTHESIS I. Definitions of Attractiveness Differ By Sex Role

1.1 Males, more-so than females, emphasize the physical and action dimensions of attractiveness.

1.2 Females, more-so than males, emphasize the dress dimensions of attractiveness.

Recalling that the girl's actual interaction with male others is at this time minimal, it follows that her opportunities for checking the accuracy of her imputations are restricted. During this period of her life, her primary orientational others are her parents, her same sexed peers and her cliques. Thus her most influential "self-other" encounters represent an essentially female perspective.

The argument is not that her interaction is limited exclusively to the female perspective, but rather that this perspective constitutes the greatest share of her orientational matrix. The amount and accuracy of male subcultural material that she can incorporate into her view of the world will be dependent upon the nature and quality of contacts that she makes with such material. It will also be dependent upon her ability to recognize and assimilate the male perspective without retranslating it into her perspective (Kinch, 1963). The second group of hypotheses concern possible sources of information concerning the characteristics of the male sexual subculture. The first two hypotheses (2.1 and 2.2) suggest that the female who turns to males for approval, either in dating or in dress, will be more aware of male characteristics than females who are not looking to males for approval. The remaining hypotheses in this section (2.3 through 2.6) look at specific "others" as possible sources of information about males.

HYPOTHESIS II. Definitions of Attractiveness Among Females Differ by Relative Contact with Others' Orientations.

2.1 Females who emphasize male dimensions of attractiveness, more-so than females who don't, are dating.

2.2 Females who emphasize male dimensions of attractiveness, more-so than females who don't, dress for male approval.

2.3 Females who emphasize male dimensions of attractiveness, more-so than females who don't, do not perceive their relationship with their fathers as being very close.

2.4 Females who emphasize male dimensions of attractiveness, more-so than females who don't, do not have older male or female siblings.

2.5 Females who emphasize male dimensions of attractiveness, more-so than females who don't, know more about media content.

2.6 Females who emphasize male dimensions of attractiveness, more-so than females who don't, interact with females with similar orientations.

The final set of hypotheses (III) set forth certain personal attributes and attitudes which should be found in the presence of the awareness of the content of the male subculture. These hypotheses are concerned with the correlates of awareness of the male perspective.

HYPOTHESIS III. Female Definitions of Attractiveness
are Related to
Other Self Attributes and Attitudes

3.1 Females who emphasize male dimensions of attractiveness, more-so than females who don't, define themselves physically.

3.2 Females who emphasize male dimensions of attractiveness, more-so than females who don't, regard their appearance as highly important.

3.3 Females who emphasize male dimensions of attractiveness, more-so than females who don't, are less satisfied with their physical development.

3.4 Females who emphasize male dimensions of attractiveness, more-so than females who don't, will accurately categorize other females.

3.5 Females who emphasize male dimensions of attractiveness, more-so than females who don't, will view males as being interested in the physical attributes of females.

3.6 Females who emphasize male dimensions of attractiveness, more-so than females who don't, will be aware of male subcultural material.

In Goffman's (1959) terms, she is on stage before the male audience. Her performance will depend in great measure upon her ability to view herself as they view her. Isolation from the male perspective forces her to err in the sense that her imputations will be female imputations imposed on male responses. As her contacts with males increase through adolescence this may of course change (Broderick and Fowler, 1961). Parenthetically, it is interesting to note that Montagu (CBC tape) comments that males are taught an appreciation for the female "way of thinking" and use it to secure their ends.

In short, her knowledge of the existence of the two sets of rules by which the game of romance is being played will enable her to successfully negotiate to the ends she desires. Failure to appreciate these differing rules puts her into the position of being unable to play as effectively.

Because this is an exploratory study the hypotheses which have been developed are intended as guidelines. Based on the conceptual approach to the phenomenon, it is anticipated that the hypotheses are reasonable reflections of the issues generated in the previous discussion.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

The exploratory nature of this study necessitated the development of instruments which would be appropriate to the questions being researched. Prior to the actual conducting of the research, a semantic differential instrument had to be developed. For this purpose a sample of early adolescents was obtained. The sample and the procedure used to develop the final semantic differential will be described first. This will be followed by a description of the test sample. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the specific instruments used in the study.

THE SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL DEVELOPMENT SAMPLE

Four school classes made up of eight and ninth graders were used for the development of the semantic differential instrument. The school from which the classes were obtained was in an urban setting, serving both lower and middle socioeconomic classes. The four classrooms yielded 133 subjects, split about evenly between males and females, 65 and 68 respectively. After appropriate instruction and a non-related example these students simply indicated whether they were male or female and proceeded to respond to the semantic differential items before them. The completion of this instrument took very little time which may in part account for the receptive attitude of the students.

THE RESEARCH SAMPLE

It was originally intended to collect data from eighth grade classes in school settings. Numerous approaches were made to various school systems in urban areas. In all cases the request was rejected, most frequently on the grounds that administrators did not wish to get involved in potential confrontations with parents over research which was not directly related to the educational enterprise. The assurances of anonymity made no difference.

When it became evident that schools could not be considered as a source for the sample, other possibilities were explored. After consideration of many possibilities, it was found that church groups of junior high school students would be available. It was discovered that the small size of some of these groups were in some ways more suited to the techniques being used.

Using the small groups meant that a total sample would have to be built up from numerous groups. It was found that the smaller size of the groups meant that the whole testing procedure could be conducted in less time than for a larger group. Further, the smaller size of the groups meant that fewer individual judgments had to be made, thereby reducing the possibility of respondent fatigue. However, the use of small groups did have the unforeseen effect of eliminating one hypothesis by making it untestable. This will be discussed in connection with the specific hypothesis.

The groups were gathered from seventh, eighth, and ninth grade confirmation classes. The fact that these groups were religiously homogeneous eliminated the possibility of testing religion as a variable, but was not felt to be a contaminating variable either. The questionnaires were administered in a classroom setting.

The final sample, comprised of ten groups, consisted of 112 females and 78 males, grades seven through nine. After initial assessment of the questionnaires, it was found that 16 questionnaires had to be eliminated for various reasons, such as incompleteness or obvious failure to understand some of the procedures. The elimination of these questionnaires produced a sample of 96 subjects. The age breakdown of these subjects is indicated in Table 1.

The ages of the males were not solicited as they were not felt to be necessary to the analysis. The sole function of the males in the sample was to provide sociometric judgments of the females in the sample. They were not being studied as such, but rather being utilized to furnish a judgment criterion which would be used in the analysis of the sociometric data from the females. The additional purpose served by including the males, that of checking on the factor analysis sample males in terms of definitional realities, did not require a knowledge of their age. In retrospect, acquiring more personal information from the males might have been valuable for analyses which emanate from this research at a later date.

The analysis of the sociometric data required that the data be kept in the original group categories. The other procedures allowed for pooling of the data. The original data was kept in such a manner as to make the separation a simple matter.

TABLE 1. Age Distribution of the Female Sample

Age	Number of Subjects
12	19
13	38
14	30
15	9
	N=96

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FIRST SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL

The first semantic differential instrument was constructed by gathering as many synomyns and antonyms of the word "attractive" as possible. These words were collected from dictionaries, a thesaurus, advertisements and current teen literature. The words collected were paired with antonyms. A word and its antonym became one bipolar item. A bipolar item was separated by a seven point scale so that a highly negative to a highly positive attribution of meaning could be indicated by the subjects. The middle category, 4, represented a mid-point of "no-meaning". Eighty-eight such bipolar items were developed all of which were possible meanings associated with the word "attractive." The instrument, though three pages in length required very little time to complete. The first semantic differential is included in Appendix A.

Though several of the eighty-eight bipolar items were repeated, it was felt that all of the possible meanings of attractiveness were well presented in the instrument. The bipolar items were arranged randomly, positive and negative items being represented on both sides of the scale. This random placement offset the possible effects of response set.

The students were given verbal instructions concerning the nature of the instrument, which included an example not related to the word being defined. There were indications that the students enjoyed the task and that they took the task seriously.

The results of this preliminary semantic differential will be discussed in the results chapter. The eighty-eight bipolar item responses were factor analyzed and from the factors a second semantic differential was constructed for use in the actual study.

THE SECOND SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL INSTRUMENT

The factor analysis of the first semantic differential yielded five factors. The analysis and the factors will be described in detail in the results chapter. Twenty-five bipolar items making up the five factors were placed in the second instrument which was included in the questionnaire presented to the test sample. The inclusion of this second semantic differential served two functions: a concise (25 versus 88 items) measure of the perceptual reality of the sample subjects which would be compared to the first sample, and, most importantly, a base for the later grouping of the subjects in the sample according to their definitional realities. The second semantic differential was also given to the male subjects in the samples, which provided a further check on the factors obtained from the first instrument.

THE SOCIOMETRIC TECHNIQUE

Several of the questions addressed by this research necessitated the development of a sociometric instrument which would permit the placement of each subject along a rough continuum of attractiveness based on evaluations of male and female peers. Besides providing a measure for placement, the instrument would have to require very little time and effort from the evaluator since each female peer would be evaluated by all members of the group.

Using the two major factors, personality and physical, rating sheets consisting of seven bipolar items were developed. These seven items were made up of four items from the personality factor and three from the physical factor. These seven items showed marked differences between males and females along with having high loading in their respective factors. Like the bipolar items on the semantic differential instrument, the seven items were separated by seven degrees of meaning. The four personality items were not of interest. The three physical items were of considerable theoretical interest. The inclusion of the four personality items was done for purposes of subterfuge. The development of the factors and the rationale of their selection and use will be discussed in the results section.

A small sheet containing the seven items, randomly reversed for positive and negative positions, was provided for each judgment to be made and placed into a booklet for each evaluator. Each male received a booklet containing a rating sheet for each girl in the group. Each female received a similar booklet, differing only in the fact that the covering page instructed her to rate herself on one of the sheets in addition to her ratings of her female peers. A sample page is reproduced in Figure V.

From these ratings a profile of attractiveness was developed for each girl. In this manner a "picture" of the male definition of the situation, regarding the attractiveness of each of the females, was developed. Comparison with the female ratings would indicate if the definitions differed.

The ratings were conducted using a system whereby each girl was assigned a number which was written on a chalkboard next to her name,

FIGURE V.

SAMPLE PAGE OF THE SOCIOMETRIC RATING BOOKLET

Affectionate ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Cold

Shapely ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Shapeless

Dull ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Radiant

Sexy ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Iceberg

Disgusting ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Enchanting

"Blah" ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Built

Fascinating ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Repelling thereby avoiding the use of names on the rating forms. The girls were instructed to use only their numbers on the questionnaires. The use of numbers and the explanation that these were needed to relate the two parts of the questionnaire added credence to the assurances of anonymity.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire was designed to gather as much information as possible from each of the female respondents, which in an exploratory study provides data for additional analysis which might be suggested in the course of testing the guiding hypotheses.

Since the research was designed to study the sociometric groupings of young adolescent girls by self and others' definitions of attractiveness, the questionnaire gathered information about each girl which might provide clues about the characteristics of such groupings.

Questions regarding family relationships, siblings, reading habits, attitudes, clothing and make-up habits were also solicited. Throughout the questionnaire care was exercised to make each item succinct and easily answerable. The advertising awareness scale involved writing a word to identify each product, which was not considered laborious. The questionnaire is included in Appendix A.

THE RESEARCH PROCEDURE

The actual administration of the instruments was straightforward and required very little by way of verbal instruction other than a few instructions regarding procedures, the assurance of anonymity and the explantion of the number code. Prior to the assembly of the group, the first names of the girls were placed on the chalkboard. If there were identical first names, the last name was identified by the initial. When the class arrived, the girls were assigned numbers beside their name in a casual manner indicating that the numbers were not preassigned and thus possibly recorded elsewhere. The use of the numbers was explained as being part of the assurance of anonymity and subjects were instructed to use the numbers in the questionnaire wherever names were required.

The boys were segregated from the girls in another classroom and an identical list of the names of the girls with their numbers was transferred to their location. The boys first completed the semantic differential instrument. Upon completion of this task they were given the sociometric judgment booklet and asked to rate each girl in the class, using one page for each girl. Talking was not permitted, for obvious reasons. The boys were not asked to put identifying marks on their booklets or the sociometric scale. Upon completion of these two tasks, they were dismissed. In most cases the boys finished within fifteen minutes.

The girls were first given the questionnaire and told to fill it out as honestly as possible and to use numbers in all cases where names were called for and to use their number on the front respondent information page. Upon completion of the questionnaire, the questionnaires were collected and each girl was handed the sociometric rating booklet and given opportunity to ask procedural questions after she had read the written instructions. This was handled individually since the questionnaires were completed at differing rates. Upon completion of the booklet, the girl was free to leave.

During the pretest stage it was found to be necessary to separate the sexes for two reasons. The boys finished earlier and when handed the booklets the girls quickly became aware that they were being rated. Further, the fact that the boys were finished earlier and were leaving would cause disruption. That neither group knew what the other was doing seems of considerable value to the accuracy of the results.

Both males and females were thanked for their cooperation and assured further that the researchers were not in any way interested in their names. Most subjects appeared to be quite interested in the questionnaire and tried, by all appearances, to take the enterprise seriously.

In a few cases, some of the girls did not rate themselves as requested, inspite of repeated instructions to do so. The value of the self ratings as a whole will be discussed in the results section.

SUMMARY

The first semantic differential consisting of 88 items was administered to 133 subjects. It was from a factor analysis of these items that the second semantic differential was developed, a reduced in size version of the first instrument. Also, sociometric judgment booklets, utilizing a semantic differential based scale, was developed from the first semantic differential.

The test sample of 112 subjects was made up of 10 groups of girls and boys. Each girl received a questionnaire, which included the second semantic differential, and a sociometric judgment booklet. The boys were given the second semantic differential and a sociometric judgment booklet for rating the girls. Finally, it was noted that there were 16 subjects eliminated from the sample, leaving 96 usable questionnaires.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

INTRODUCTION

The first section of this chapter describes the analysis of the first semantic differential scale and the factors comprising the definition of feminine attractiveness used in subsequent analyses. The second section presents the analyses and findings related to the hypotheses. The final section discusses the results in some detail.

THE ANALYSIS OF THE FIRST SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL

The responses of the 133 subjects to the 88 bipolar items, making up the first form of the semantic differential on feminine attractiveness, were factor analyzed using the quartimax rotation. All items clustering at a .500 loading or greater were included as components of the particular factor. The quartimax system of rotation, because of its emphasis on simplifying the rows of the factor matrix, tends to produce a generalized first factor; that is, many variables tend to load high on the first factor. The subsequent factors tend to be subclusters of variables.

The quartimax rotation yielded five major factors which were labelled: personality, physical, modesty, action and dress (see Table 2). The twenty-five bipolar items making up the five factors on the second semantic differential, given to the testing sample, were selected from the quartimax factor list. The male and female

TABLE 2. Five Dimensions of Attractiveness

Loading[1]	Variable
	FACTOR 1: PERSONALITY
.747	Graceful - Clumsy
.692	Interesting - Uninteresting
.679	Sweet - Sour
.647	Fascinating - Repelling
.647	Adorable - Unadorable
.633	Good - Wicked
.613	Delicate - Rough
.594	Lovable - Unlovable
.589	Fascinating - Unfascinating
.576	Radiant - Dull
.572	Glowing - Dull
.572	Affectionate - Cold
.547	Neat - Sloppy
.525	Lovely - Homely
.523	Enchanting - Disgusting
.513	Thrilling - Uninteresting
.512	Tender - Tough
.511	Well Kept - Straggled
	FACTOR 2: PHYSICAL
.773	Shapely - Shapeless
.761	Figure - Flat
.735	Built - Blah
.612	Sexy - Iceberg
.560	Beautiful - Not Beautiful
.553	Good Looking - Not Good Looking
	FACTOR 3: MODESTY
.867	Bold - Modest
.763	Daring - Modest
.624	Spicy - Modest
	FACTOR 4: ACTION
.857	Fast - Slow
.537	Hot - Cold
.516	Passionate - Cold
	FACTOR 5: DRESS
.776	Fashionable - Plain
.776	Well Dressed - Plainly Dressed
.609	Intriguing - Plain

---

[1] Loading indicates correlation of each variable with factor concerned.

mean ratings of each of the bipolar items comprising the five factors from the first sample (the sample used to develop the factors) are presented in Appendix B, Table B-1.

The Development of Attractiveness Scales

The 96 subjects were grouped by their mean scores on each of the five factors making up the definition of feminine attractiveness. The groups and the number of subjects in each group, along with the number of bipolar items contributing to the mean score, are presented in Table 3. For contrast, the male groupings are also included in the table, though they are not used in the subsequent analysis.

These groupings will subsequently be referred to as "salience levels" pertaining to each of the factors. Subjects were grouped into one of two groups, high (5.50 - 7.00) and low (1.00 - 5.49) salience. A subject was grouped in terms of the physical factor on the basis of the mean of her responses to the six bipolar items making up the particular factor.

The rationale for the selection of the physical and dress factors was based on Udry's (1971) contention that the distinguishing differences between male and female subcultures is their respective emphasis on sex versus fashion. These two factors would typify the differences between the male and female perspectives on feminine attractiveness; such differences being evident in the male and female means on these two factors (Table B-1 and Table 8). Essentially, the hypotheses are concerned with the differences which might exist between females who express high saliency on the physical factor and those whose saliency level is low on this factor.

The responses on the physical and dress factors distribute the same way, i.e. 59 - 60 percent are high salience (see Table 3). There is a tendency for respondents to be either low or high on both of these dimensions of attractiveness (see Table 4). It is interesting to note that among those with differing levels of salience on these dimensions, females with low physical salient attitudes are less inclined to have high dress salient attitudes than the converse. This suggests that strong physical attitudes toward attractiveness has a spill over effect on dress attitudes, whereas strong dress attitudes toward attractiveness are less likely to carry over into the physical dimension. It is because of these differences that both dimensions of attractiveness were retained in the testing of the hypotheses.

The testing of each of the hypotheses follows. In each specific test, age and dating are controlled. Because the process of maturation may have an effect on a girl's definition of attractiveness, controlling for age will show this relationship should it exist. Similarly, interaction with males on a more involved level than just in a classroom may be related to differing dimensions of attractiveness, hence the control for dating. Both of these variables, age and dating, are important in the consideration of other vairables which may be related to definitions of feminine attractiveness.

The first group of hypotheses are in essence tests of Udry's observations about the differences in sexual subcultures. Further, the first set of hypotheses serve to further establish the rationale for selection of the physical and dress factors as the base criterion for the subsequent hypotheses.

TABLE 3. Male and Female Salience Distributions on Five Dimensions of Attractiveness

SALIENCE RANGE	Personality (12)[1]		Physical (6)		Modesty[2] (3)		Action (2)		Dress (2)	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
					Females (N = 96)					
Negative Salience (0.00 - 3.99)		(0)		(0)	36	(35)	6	(6)	8	(8)[3]
Low Salience (4.00 - 5.49)	36	(35)	41	(39)	52	(50)	64	(61)	31	(30)
High Salience (5.50 - 7.00)	64	(61)	59	(57)	11	(11)	30	(29)	60	(58)
					Males (N = 78)					
Negative Salience (0.00 - 3.99)		(0)		(0)	36	(28)	4	(3)	13	(10)[3]
Low Salience (4.00 - 5.49)	32	(25)	19	(15)	56	(44)	42	(33)	36	(28)
High Salience (5.50 - 7.00)	68	(53)	81	(63)	8	(6)	54	(42)	51	(40)

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[1] Number of bipolar items making up the factor.

[2] "Modesty" is scored low, the antonym high (e.g. Modest (1) - Daring (7)).

[3] Negative salience respondents were combined with the low salience group.

TABLE 4. Physical Salience by Dress Salience

Physical Salience	Dress Salience				Total	
	Low		High			
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Low	55.3	(21)	31.0	(18)	40.6	(39)
High	44.7	(17)	69.0	(40)	59.4	(57)
TOTAL	100.0	(38)	100.0	(58)	100.0	(96)

$X^2 = 4.6279$ $p= < .05$

HYPOTHESIS I. Definitions of attractiveness differ by sex role.

1.1 Males, more-so than females, emphasize the physical and action dimensions of attractiveness.

1.2 Females, more-so than males, emphasize the dress dimensions of attractiveness.

It will be recalled that the original semantic differential (88 bipolar items, see Appendix A) yielded five factors (see Table 2), which were incorporated into a second semantic differential scale, which was included in the questionnaire. The first hypothesis, with its sub-hypotheses, was tested using the results of the second semantic differential. The results of this analysis are reported in Table 5. T-tests for no difference were applied to each bipolar item means for the males and females. Differences significant at the .05 level or more are noted in the table.

Referring to Table 5, it will be noted that hypothesis 1.1 is supported for both the physical and action factors. The differences in definition of feminine attractiveness are more striking in the case of the physical factor where significance levels attain .005 or more on each of the six bipolar items. The dress factor also distinguishes between the males and females, though not as strikingly as the physical factor, in terms of the significance levels.

The modesty factor items do not distinguish between the males and females. It will be noted, further, that the terms seem to be unrelated to the subjects' definitions of feminine attractiveness in that the means all cluster in or about the middle category (4), which is the neutral category. The loading of these items and the

TABLE 5. Male and Female Mean Salience Levels on Five Dimensions of Feminine Attractiveness

Factors and Bipolar Items	Male Salience Level (N = 78)	Female Salience Level (N = 96)	Difference	T-test
PERSONALITY				
Graceful - Clumsy	5.19	5.73[1]	.54	<.005
Interesting - Uninteresting	5.95	6.09	.82	
Sweet - Sour	5.68	5.60	.08	
Fascinating - Repelling	5.54	5.55	.01	
Adorable - Unadorable	5.68	5.49	.19	
Delicate - Rough	5.45	5.24	.21	
Lovable - Unlovable	5.72	5.52	.20	
Radiant - Dull	5.67	5.48	.19	
Glowing - Dull	5.76	5.81	.05	
Affectionate - Cold	5.65	5.60	.05	
Lovely - Homely	6.09	5.64	.45	<.005
Enchanting - Disgusting	5.37	5.24	.13	
PHYSICAL				
Shapely - Shapeless	6.23	5.65	.58	<.0005
Figure - Flat	6.22	5.76	.46	<.005
Built - Blah	6.04	5.39	.65	<.0005
Sexy - Iceberg	5.81	5.04	.77	<.0005
Beautiful - Not Beautiful	6.21	5.54	.87	<.0005
Good Looking - Not Good Look.	6.44	6.04	.40	<.005
MODESTY				
Bold - Modest	3.96	4.01	.05	
Daring - Modest	4.13	4.03	.10	
Spicy - Modest	3.84	4.20	.36	
ACTION				
Fast - Slow	5.09	4.77	.32	<.05
Passionate - Cold	5.64	5.11	.53	<.005
DRESS				
Fashionable - Plain	5.17	5.68	.51	< .01
Well Dressed - Plainly Dressed	5.04	5.43	.39	< .05

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[1] Higher means are underlined.

creation of a factor is probably accounted for by the common word "modest" and not by salience.

The dress factor indicates significant differences between the males and females, with the females showing higher salience levels. This is consistent with Udry's contentions and supports hypothesis 1.2.

HYPOTHESIS II. Definitions of attractiveness among females differ by relative contact with others' orientations.

This hypothesis looks specifically at interaction as a variable which might account for the pubescent female becoming aware of the importance of the physical component of feminine attractiveness to males. Essentially, each of the hypotheses explore the relationship between the amount of interaction with males and the girl's definition of feminine attractiveness in terms of the two selected factors. Hypothesis 2.6 differs slightly in that it predicts that females of like definitional orientation will associate with each other, which association might contribute to the high saliency on the physical component of each girl's definition.

HYPOTHESIS 2.1 Females who emphasize male dimensions of attractiveness, more-so than females who don't, are dating.

The relationship between physical salience and dating, controlling for age, is presented in Table 6. The results are not significant. However, dating does appear to have an influence on physical salience in the 14-15 age group. Dress salience attitudes are not related to either dating or age. The hypothesis is not supported.

TABLE 6. Concept Salience by Dating and Age[1]

CONCEPT	Daters				Non - daters			
SALIENCE	12,13 yrs. %	14,15 yrs. %	Total %		12,13 yrs. %	14,15 yrs. %	Total %	
High Physical Salience	58.3	70.8	64.6	n.s.	54.3	53.3	59.4	n.s.
High Dress Salience	62.5	58.3	64.6	n.s.	60.6	60.0	60.4	n.s.
	N=24[2]	N=24	N=48		N=33	N=15	N=48	

[1] The relationship between age and dating is nonsignificant in this sample.

[2] Total N upon which each percentage is based.

HYPOTHESIS 2.2 Females who emphasize male dimensions of attractiveness, more-so than females who don't, dress for male approval.

One attitudinal item was directly related to the hypothesis, "Girls should dress with boys in mind."[1] Physical and dress saliency were compared to the responses of this attitude, controlling for age and dating, see Table 7. The results were not significant. However, the predicted tendencies can be observed in relationship to high physical salience, with the exception of the 14 and 15 year olds. In other words, there is a suggestion that among those who agree with the attitude of dressing for male approval, the physical dimension of feminine attractiveness is highly important.

There is a slight reversal of the trend in relation to high dress salience. This reversal is particularly evident among the 14 and 15 year old group and among the non-daters. Although high in dress salience these subjects disagree with the attitude of dressing with boys in mind. The countertrend, however is not necessarily a contradiction of the hypothesis. As Udry (1971) observes, female conversation at this age is quite sexless in contrast to their male peers. The reverse trend in relation to dress salience suggests

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[1] The responses to this attitude, and the other attitudes, allowed for five possible levels of agreement or disagreement: strongly agree, agree, don't know, disagree and strongly disagree. These five levels were combined to produce three categories: agree, don't know, and disagree. This procedure of combining the attitudinal responses was followed in all cases where attitudinal items were analyzed.

TABLE 7. Concept Salience by Dress Attitude[1] by Age and Dating

CONCEPT SALIENCE	Agree %	Don't Know %	Disagree %		Agree %	Don't Know %	Disagree %	
				Age				
		12,13 yr. olds				14,15 yr. olds		
High Physical Salience	66.7	66.7	46.7	n.s.	63.6	60.0	66.7	n.s.
High Dress Salience	60.0	50.0	66.7	n.s.	59.1	20.0	75.0	n.s.
	N=15[2]	N=12	N=30		N=22	N=5	N=12	
				Dating				
		Daters				Non - daters		
High Physical Salience	64.3	85.7	53.8	n.s.	66.7	50.0	51.7	n.s.
High Dress Salience	64.3	28.6	69.2	n.s.	44.4	50.0	69.0	n.s.
	N=28	N=7	N=13		N=9	N=10	N=29	

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[1] "A girl should dress with boys in mind."

[2] Total N upon which each percentage is based.

that being well dressed is equated with being pretty or well groomed and is not necessarily male directed. Thus, being pretty or attractive is not understood by these subjects as being in reference to males, i.e. attractiveness without sexual connotations.

One other attitude is indirectly related to the hypothesis, "Boys notice attractively dressed girls" (see Table 8). Several observations are in order. There are no 14 and 15 year olds who disagree with this item. Secondly, 67.6% (23) of the 12 and 13 year olds who agree are also high in physical salience as contrasted with 12.5% (1) of their age peers who disagreed.

The patterns of responses between daters and non-daters are alike, indicating that dating has no effect. The patterns of response were also unaffected by age. Thus it can be concluded that this attitude is related to the physical salience attitude. Dress salience is not related to the attitude. This lends further support to the idea that when girls are aware of the meaning of attractiveness in terms of the opposite sex, the physical dimension of attractiveness increases in salience. In other words, it is quite possible that there are two dimensions of meaning to being dressed attractively. One meaning of being attractively dressed involves reference to males and includes a physical aspect. The other meaning of being attractively dressed would seem to lack the reference to male "attraction" and may be said to be lacking the physical component.

It is also interesting to note the relatively high number of subjects who did not know whether or not boys noticed attractively dressed girls. Further, although the number of "don't know"

TABLE 8. Concept Salience by Dress Attitude[1] by Age and Dating

CONCEPT SALIENCE	Agree %	Don't Know %	Disagree %		Agree %	Don't Know %	Disagree %	
				Age				
		12,13 yr. olds				14,15 yr. olds		
High Physical Salience	67.6	53.8	12.5	$p = <.02$	63.6	33.3	0.0	n.s.
High Dress Salience	64.7	53.3	62.5	n.s.	57.6	66.7	0.0	n.s.
	N=34[2]	N=15	N=8		N=33	N=6	N=0	
				Dating				
		Daters				Non-daters		
High Physical Salience	65.7	80.0	0.0	$p = <.05$	65.6	36.4	20.0	$p = >.05 < 10$
High Dress Salience	60.0	60.0	66.7	n.s.	62.5	54.5	60.0	n.s. .10
	N=35	N=10	N=3		N=32	N=11	N=5	

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[1] "Boys notice girls who dress attractively."

[2] Total N upon which each percentage is based.

respondents among daters and non-daters is almost identical (10 and 11), 80.0% of the daters are high in physical salience as contrasted to 36.4% of the non-daters. This seems to suggest that there is a relationship between physical salience and dating. This possible relationship will be discussed later.

It can be concluded from these findings that those who see boys as noticing attractively dressed girls are also high on physical salience. The hypothesis that girls who would dress for males would also show high physical salience is not directly supported. However, those who feel that boys notice attractively dressed girls, though not conveying in this attitude that they would adjust their mode of dress accordingly, show high physical salience. With both of these attitudes considered and taking into account the trends noted, the hypothesis gains limited support.

HYPOTHESIS 2.3 Females who emphasize male dimensions of attractiveness, more-so than females who don't, do not perceive their relationship with their fathers as very close.

The subjects were asked to evaluate their relationship with both their father and mother. The responses to the father related question will be used in the assessment of the hypothesis. The responses to the mother related question are also presented.

Referring to Table 9, it is seen that when age is controlled, among the younger group (12,13 yrs.) there is a significant relationship between perceived closeness to father and physical salience. Among those who regarded their relationship as very close, only 34.8% (8) were high in physical salience, compared to the 68.0% (17) and 83.3% (5)

TABLE 9. Concept Salience by Relationship to Father by Age and Dating

CONCEPT SALIENCE	Very Close %	Close %	Not Close %		Very Close %	Close %	Not Close %	
				Age				
		12,13 yr. olds				14,15 yr. olds		
High Physical Salience	34.8	68.0	83.3	p= <.05	58.3	63.2	71.4	n.s.
High Dress Salience	60.9	60.0	66.7	n.s.	66.7	57.9	57.1	n.s.
	N=23[1]	N=25	N=6		N=12	N=19	N=7	
				Dating				
		Daters				Non-daters		
High Physical Salience	62.5	61.9	75.0	n.s.	26.3	69.6	80.0	p= <.01
High Dress Salience	68.8	61.9	50.0	n.s.	57.9	56.5	80.0	n.s.
	N=16	N=21	N=8		N=19	N=23	N=5	

[1] Total N upon which each percentage is based.

among those who evaluated their relationship as close or not close respectively. The same pattern is observed among the non-dating group. Similar trends, though not nearly as striking, may be observed among the other girls (14, 15 year olds) and among the daters.

From these findings, it can be concluded that among those who are younger and among those who don't date, a perceived very close relationship with the father is related to low saliency on the physical component of feminine attractiveness and that as the perceived relationship to the father weakens, physical saliency tends to increase.[2]

While no significant relationships were obtained when the relationship to father was compared to dress salience, some trends are worth noting. There is a tendency suggesting that dress salience increases with perceived closeness to the father. Again this would seem to be consistent with the proposition which was earlier advanced that the dress dimension may well lack the physical component, resulting in further support for the hypothesis. This will be discussed more thoroughly in the discussion section.

For further clarification, the perceived relationship with the mother was compared to the physical and dress salience groupings (see

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[2] Referring back to Table 6, it will be seen that age is not related to dating in this particular age range. Indeed, it would appear that the dating status of the subjects, particularly among the older age group, is related to the physical salience variable. Among the 14 and 15 year olds, those who are dating are also strikingly higher in physical salience (70.8%) than their non-dating peers (53.3%).

Table 10). Although none of these comparisons resulted in significance levels of .05 or more, there are some trends which are observable. Among the older age group, high physical salience is observed among those who are very close to their mothers, which is a reversal of the trend observed in this age group relative to the relationship with the father (see Table 9). Otherwise, the trend observed in relationship to perceived closeness to the father, high physical salience increasing as the perceived relationship weakens, is supported by the mother related data. The other noteworthy exception occurs among the younger age group in connection with dress salience, where those who feel closest to their mothers are lower in dress salience than those who feel "close". The trends are quite weak and for this reason it is difficult to draw any conclusions.

The hypothesis, which is specifically relative to fathers, is supported, the strongest support coming from the younger age group and the non-dating group. Possible explanations of these findings will be discussed later.

HYPOTHESIS 2.4 Females who emphasize male dimensions of attractiveness, more-so than females who don't, do not have older male or female siblings.

This hypothesis states that those girls who do not have older siblings are more likely to display high physical saliency than those girls who are not the eldest children in the family. The relationships between the two salience variables and the presence of male siblings are presented in Table 11. The data pertaining to the presence of female siblings is presented in Table 12.

TABLE 10. Concept Salience by Relationship to Mother by Age and Dating.

CONCEPT SALIENCE	Very Close %	Close %	Very Close %	Close %
		Age		
	12,13 yr. olds		14,15 yr. olds	
High Physical Salience	45.2	68.0 n.s.	70.0	57.1 n.s.
High Dress Salience	58.1	68.0 n.s.	65.0	50.0 n.s.
	N=31[1]	N=25	N=20	N=14
		Dating		
	Daters		Non - daters	
High Physical Salience	60.9	63.6 n.s.	50.0	64.7 n.s.
High Dress Salience	60.9	59.1 n.s.	60.7	64.7 n.s.
	N=23	N=22	N=28	N=17

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[1] Total N upon which each percentage is based.

TABLE 11. Concept Salience by Older Male Siblings by Age and Dating

CONCEPT SALIENCE	No Older Male Siblings %	Older Male Siblings %		No Older Male Siblings %	Older Male Siblings %	
			Age			
	12,13 yr. olds			14,15 yr. olds		
High Physical Salience	68.0	46.9	n.s..	63.0	66.7	n.s.
High Dress Salience	72.0	53.1	n.s.	70.4	33.3	p=<.05[2]
	N=25[1]	N=32		N=27	N=12	
			Dating			
	Daters			Non - daters		
High Physical Salience	64.0	65.2	n.s.	66.7	38.1	p=<.05
High Dress Salience	72.0	47.8	n.s.	70.4	47.6	n.s.
	N=25	N=23		N=27	N=21	

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[1] Total N upon which each percentage is based.

[2] One tailed tests for significance.

TABLE 12. Concept Salience by Older Female Siblings by Age and Dating

CONCEPT SALIENCE	No Older Female Siblings %	Older Female Siblings %		No Older Female Siblings %	Older Female Siblings %	
			Age			
	12,13 yr. olds			14,15 yr. olds		
High Physical Salience	68.7	40.0	$p=<.05$[2]	65.5	60.0	n.s.
High Dress Salience	68.7	52.0	n.s.	58.6	60.0	n.s.
	N=32[1]	N=25		N=29	N=10	
			Dating			
	Daters			Non - daters		
High Physical Salience	80.0	38.9	$p=<.01$	54.8	52.9	n.s.
High Dress Salience	63.3	55.6	n.s.	64.5	52.9	n.s.
	N=30	N=18		N=31	N=17	

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[1] Total N upon which each percentage is based.

[2] One tailed tests for significance.

Since the direction is predicted by the hypothesis, a one tail test for significance is appropriate. Referring to Table 11, the predicted relationship between high physical salience and the absence of older male siblings is significant in the responses of the non-daters. The predicted trend may also be observed in the younger age group. Further, dress salience is significantly related to the presence or absence of older male siblings among the older girls. The pattern of high dress salience and no older male siblings may be observed among the responses of the younger age group and among daters and non-daters.

Referring to Table 12, the predicted trend is strikingly seen among the dating subjects and less so among the younger age group. Those girls who are dating and who do not have older female siblings show high physical salience (80.0%) as compared to their dating peers who have older sisters (38.9%). There is a trend for dress salience to be higher among those girls who do not have older female siblings, the one exception to this being seen among the older age group. This relationship is particularly strong among the 12 and 13 year olds where dress salience decreases markedly in the presence of older female siblings.

High physical salience is most evident among those girls who are not dating and who do not have older male siblings (see Table 11). High physical salience is also related to the absence of older female siblings among the subjects of the 12 and 13 year old age group and among those who are dating (see Table 12). The most significant relationship between physical salience and no older siblings occurs among those who have no older sisters and who are dating.

The hypothesis gains only limited support in the case of older male siblings. The hypothesis gains more support in the case of older female siblings.

HYPOTHESIS 2.5 Females who emphasize male dimensions of attractiveness, more-so than females who don't, know more about media content.

The hypothesis suggests a relationship between media awareness and high physical salience. On the questionnaire the subjects were asked to respond to fifty brand names by identifying the product which they represented. The product names were taken from fashion and teen magazines and consisted of items related to grooming, make-up, and clothes. If the subject correctly identified the product by its brand name, credit was given. The scores were grouped into high and low, using the mean score correct as the cutting point.

The relationships between concept salience and brand name awareness controlling for age and dating are reported in Table 13. Concept salience is not significantly related to brand name awareness. In point of fact, there is a trend observable among the non-dating group and the older age group which contradicts the hypothesized relationship. Among both of these groups high physical salience is associated with low brand name awareness. This particular trend will be discussed in some detail in connection with reading levels and teen magazines in the discussion section. The following tests pertain to concept salience and level of reading of teenage magazines.

TABLE 13. Concept Salience by Brand Name Awareness by Age and Dating

CONCEPT SALIENCE	Low Awareness %	High Awareness %		Low Awareness %	High Awareness %	
			Age			
	12,13 yr. olds			14,15 yr. olds		
High Physical Salience	53.8	53.3	n.s.	81.8	59.3	n.s.
High Dress Salience	59.0	66.7	n.s.	63.6	55.6	n.s.
	N=39[1]	N=15		N=11	N=27	
			Dating			
	Daters			Non - daters		
High Physical Salience	64.7	65.5	n.s.	57.6	38.5	n.s.
High Dress Salience	64.7	58.6	n.s.	57.6	61.5	n.s.
	N=17	N=29		N=33	N=13	

[1] Total N upon which each percentage is based.

There are three magazines which are directed primarily at this age group, Seventeen, Teen, and Miss Chatelaine. The subjects were asked on the questionnaire to indicate whether or not they read any of these magazines and to what extent. The levels of reading were: read each issue, read most issues, read some issues, very rarely read, and don't read it. The five categories were collapsed into three categories: reader, occasional reader, and infrequent reader. The crosstabulations for concept salience and readership, controlling for age and dating are reported in Tables 14 - 16.

Referring to Table 14, it can be seen that among the older group of girls, high physical salience is associated with occasional reading of Seventeen, contrasted with low physical salience among those who read the magazine regularly. A similar, though statistically non-significant, relationship is seen in the responses of the non-daters. Looking at dress salience, a pattern similar to that observed relative to physical salience, can be seen in the responses of the younger age group and the daters.

Similar patterns to those of Seventeen magazine readership and concept salience are also seen in relationship to Teen (see Table 15). Low physical saliency is associated with a high level of readership among the older group of girls and among those who are non-daters. The pattern of low dress salience and regular reading of Teen is most striking among the dating group, though there is a trend toward reversal of this pattern among the non-daters.

Low physical salience was associated with regular readership of Miss Chatelaine among the 12 and 13 year olds and among those girls

TABLE 14. Concept Salience by Reading Level of *Seventeen* by Age and Dating

CONCEPT SALIENCE	Reader	Occasional Reader	Infrequent Reader		Reader	Occasional Reader	Infrequent Reader	
	%	%	%		%	%	%	
				Age				
		12,13 yr. olds				14,15 yr. olds		
High Physical Salience	57.1	46.2	61.1	n.s.	38.5	92.3	61.5	$p = < .02$
High Dress Salience	28.6	46.2	72.2	$p = < .05$	53.8	53.8	69.2	n.s.
	N=7[1]	N=13	N=36		N=13	N=13	N=13	
				Dating				
		Daters				Non - daters		
High Physical Salience	57.1	69.2	70.0	n.s.	16.7	69.2	55.2	n.s.
High Dress Salience	35.7	46.2	85.0	$p = < .01$	66.7	53.8	62.1	n.s.
	N=14	N=13	N=20		N=6	N=13	N=29	

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[1] Total N upon which each percentage is based.

TABLE 15. Concept Salience by Reading Level of Teen by Age and Dating

CONCEPT SALIENCE	Reader %	Occasional Reader %	Infrequent Reader %		Reader %	Occasional Reader %	Infrequent Reader %	
				Age				
		12,13 yr. olds				14,15 yr. olds		
High Physical Salience	50.0	66.7	55.0	n.s.	22.2	81.8	73.7	p=<.02
High Dress Salience	50.0	44.4	67.5	n.s.	66.7	36.4	68.4	n.s.
	N=8[1]	N=9	N=40		N=9	N=11	N=19	
				Dating				
		Daters				Non - daters		
High Physical Salience	40.0	83.3	65.4	n.s.	28.6	62.5	57.6	n.s.
High Dress Salience	40.0	33.3	80.8	p=<.01	85.7	50.0	57.6	n.s.
	N=10	N=12	N=26		N=7	N=8	N=33	

[1] Total N upon which each percentage is based.

TABLE 16. Concept Salience by Reading Level of Miss Chatelaine by Age and Dating

CONCEPT SALIENCE	Reader %	Occasional Reader %	Infrequent Reader %		Reader %	Occasional Reader %	Infrequent Reader %	
				Age				
		12,13 yr. olds				14,15 yr. olds		
High Physical Salience	33.3	45.5	69.0	n.s.	66.7	68.7	57.1	n.s.
High Dress Salience	66.7	54.5	65.5	n.s.	66.7	56.3	57.1	n.s.
	N=6[1]	N=22	N=29		N=9	N=16	N=14	
				Dating				
		Daters				Non - daters		
High Physical Salience	44.4	64.7	72.7	n.s.	66.7	47.6	57.1	n.s.
High Dress Salience	66.7	47.1	68.2	n.s.	66.7	61.9	57.1	n.s.
	N=9	N=17	N=22		N=6	N=21	N=21	

[1] Total N upon which each percentage is based.

who date, (see Table 16). It should be noted, however, that none of the relationships pertaining to Miss Chatelaine and concept salience are statistically significant.

In all cases where degree of reading of teen magazines was associated with physical or dress salience; reading was associated with low saliency and non-reading with high saliency. The inverse relationship between high salience and familiarity with the magazine appears to be consistent. Explanation will be undertaken in the discussion section. The hypothesis, as defined, is unsupported.

HYPOTHESIS 2.6 Females who emphasize male dimensions of attractiveness, more-so than females who don't, interact with females with similar orientations.

It was originally planned to collect the sample from classes of junior high school students. Within such a context the friendship patterns would be well established and meaningful to the subjects. Since the sample could not be drawn from the schools, it had to be made-up from groups which were heterogenous in terms of gathering students from across schools. The nature of the groups comprising the sample was such that the subjects' friendship patterns were not represented in the groups. This fact made it impossible to test the hypothesis of homogenous perceptual orientations.

HYPOTHESIS III. Female definitions of attractiveness are related to other self attributes and attitudes.

This set of hypotheses concern self correlates of female definitions of attractiveness. The hypotheses specify attitudes and attributes which might be expected to be found in the presence of high physical salience.

HYPOTHESIS 3.1 Females who emphasize male dimensions of attractiveness, more-so than females who don't, define themselves physically.

It was originally anticipated that those girls who were high physical salient would also favor the component in judging themselves. Two indices were developed to test this hypothesis. The first index, the physical salience index, was based on the three bipolar physical items which were used in the judgment books. This index was similar to the first physical salience index in all respects except that the mean score used to determine high or low salience was based on three, rather than six, items. The second index was a physical self rate index, the mean of the three physical self rate items. For both indices the low range ran from 4.00 to 5.49 and the high range from 5.50 to 7.00.

Utilizing the two indices, physical self ratings were compared to physical concept salience controlling for age and dating (see Table 17). Though the relationships are not statistically significant, the predicted trend can be observed in all groups with the exception of the 12 and 13 year old age group. The hypothesis is not supported.

It was evident from the results of the self ratings that they were biased by the norm of not evaluating oneself higher than "normal" which

TABLE 17. Physical Self Rating by Physical Salience[1] by Age and Dating

PHYSICAL SELF RATING	Low Physical Salience %	High Physical Salience %		Low Physical Salience %	High Physical Salience %	
			Age			
	12,13 yr. olds			14,15 yr. olds		
High Physical Self Rating	8.3	5.6	n.s.	17.6	43.8	n.s.
	N=36[2]	N=18		N=17	N=16	
			Dating			
	Daters			Non - daters		
High Physical Self Rating	9.1	23.8	n.s.	12.9	23.1	n.s.
	N=22	N=21		N=31	N=13	

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[1] Based on the three physical bipolar items of the Physical Self Rating.

[2] Total N upon which each percentage is based.

in this case gravitated toward the "4" category. In consideration of this, it is not surprising that the predicted association between the variables does not attain statistical significance.

HYPOTHESIS 3.2 Females who emphasize male dimensions of attractiveness, more-so than females who don't, regard their appearance as highly important.

The hypothesis suggests that high physical salience will be associated with appearance being regarded as very important. The responses to this item fell into two categories, very important and important. These two categories are utilized in the development of the tables. It is clear that all of the girls regarded their appearance as important, so the question becomes one of the degree of importance. Inspection of Table 18 shows that none of the relationships are statistically significant. However, it should be noted that among those who consider their appearance to be very important, with the exception of the non-dating group, there is a tendency toward higher dress salience. The association of high dress salience and high regard for the importance of appearance is particularly evident upon the dating subjects.

The hypothesis is not supported by the data. It is clear from the data that physical salience is not related to the level of importance placed on personal appearance.

HYPOTHESIS 3.3 Females, who emphasize male dimensions of attractiveness, more-so than females who don't, are less satisfied with their physical development.

TABLE 18. Concept Salience by Importance of Appearance by Age and Dating

CONCEPT SALIENCE	Very Important %	Important %		Very Important %	Important %	
			Age			
	12,13 yr. olds			14,15 yr. olds		
High Physical Salience	58.3	53.1	n.s.	60.9	66.7	n.s.
High Dress Salience	66.7	56.3	n.s.	65.2	46.7	n.s.
	N=24[1]	N=32		N=23	N=15	
			Dating			
	Daters			Non - daters		
High Physical Salience	63.0	66.7	n.s.	55.0	50.0	n.s.
High Dress Salience	74.1	42.9	n.s.	55.0	61.5	n.s.
	N=27	N=21		N=20	N=26	

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[1] Total N upon which each percentage is based.

The subjects were asked to evaluate their figures in terms of five categories; poor, below average, average, above average and excellent. These five categories were collapsed into three categories for testing of the hypothesis: below average, average, and above average. The cross tabulations of figures evaluation and concept salience produced no statistically significant relationships (see Table 19). The hypothesis is rejected.

However, some comments on the data are in order. It will be noted that among the older group of subjects and among the non-daters, those rating their figures as either below average or above average tended to higher physical and dress salience than those evaluating their figures as average. This relationship will be analyzed later in the discussion section. Also, as might be expected, there were more older girls evaluating their figures as above average than younger girls.

HYPOTHESIS 3.4 Females who emphasize male dimensions of attractiveness, more-so than females who don't, will accurately categorize other females.

The nature of the groups which comprised the total sample made the testing of this hypothesis difficult, since subjects were not necessarily school mates and therefore it being highly probable that friendship patterns were not represented within these groups. Further, it was evident from the sociometric ratings, the lack of them, that many of the subjects within these groups did not really know each other.

Nevertheless, it can be argued that ratings on the physical items in the sociometric booklets did not require social interaction, but

TABLE 19. Concept Salience by Figure Evaluation by Age and Dating

CONCEPT SALIENCE	Below Average %	Average %	Above Average %	Below Average %	Average %	Above Average %
			Age			
		12,13 yr. olds			14,15 yr. olds	
High Physical Salience	55.0	57.1	50.0 n.s.	71.4	57.1	72.7 n.s.
High Dress Salience	55.0	65.7	50.0 n.s.	85.7	42.9	72.7 n.s.
	N=20[1]	N=35	N=2 [2]	N=7	N=21	N=11
			Dating			
		Daters			Non - daters	
High Physical Salience	50.0	70.0	66.7 n.s.	66.7	42.3	71.4 n.s.
High Dress Salience	58.3	60.0	66.7 n.s.	66.7	53.8	71.4 n.s.
	N=12	N=30	N=6	N=15	N=26	N=7

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[1] Total N upon which each percentage is based.

[2] Dropped in the computation of X^2

could well be done on the basis of appearance. Based on this rationale, the high and low physical salience groups were compared as to their ratings of each other in terms of the male ratings. The mean male rating of each girl formed the base against which the high physical salience and low physical salience girls' judgments were compared. The hypothesis predicts that the high physical salience subjects will be more accurate, in terms of approximating the male means, than will be the low physical salience girls.

A mean score was developed for the three bipolar items for each rate which a girl made of each of her female peers. Thus, if a girl rated eight other girls, eight mean judgment scores would be calculated from her booklet. All of these scores pertaining to one subject were divided into two groups on the basis of the physical salience groupings of the raters. Thus for each subject, there are the male ratings, high physical salience female mean ratings, and low physical salience female mean ratings.

The analysis consisted of comparing the mean male scores on a subject with the mean scores of the high physical salience group on that same subject. Similarly, the male mean scores and the low physical salience group mean score was compared. The differences for the "Male High Physical Salience" and the "Male Low Physical Salience" groups were tested for significance using a "t-test". Where there was only one rating, which occured on a limited number of subjects, a "t-test" for one sample was utilized, using the one judgment as the base.

If the hypothesis is supported, then there should be a greater number of significant differences between the low physical salience group and the males, than among the high physical salience group and the males. Such a trend is observed and the difference expressed as a proportion of errors between the two groups is tested for significance in Table 20. The difference between the proportions of errors of judgment is significant at more than the .05 level. The supporting data, the mean judgments, may be seen in Appendix B, Table B-2. Where significant differences occured between female and male ratings, it was frequently because the males grossly under-rated the particular girl (Subjects 9, 12, 22, 68, 75, 80, 90, 95, 97, and 108). Further, examination of the mean judgments for the three groups shows that the females were consistently higher in their evaluations of their female peers than the males. The females were higher than the males in 118 judgments, 73% of the judgments.

The sociometric instrument suffers from several deficiencies when assessed in retrospect. First, the males in this age group did not seem to take the task seriously and at times it seemed apparent that they viewed the test as a means of "getting even" with the girls. Secondly, it would have been more appropriate, in terms of testing this hypothesis, to ask the girls to rate each other in terms of how they thought the males saw them, rather than simply evaluating each other. If such had been done, the accuracy of the perception of male perceptions could have been assessed.

The fact that the low physical salience group made over twice as many errors as compared to the high physical salience group and

TABLE 20. Physical Saliency by Accuracy of Female Peer Evaluations

PHYSICAL SALIENCE	Judgment Errors[1]		Correct Judgments[2]		Total	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Low	16.3	(13)	83.7	(67)	100.0	(80)
High	7.4	(6)	92.6	(75)	100.0	(81)
TOTAL	11.8	(19)	88.2	(142)	100.0	(161)
					$p = < .045$[3]	

[1] Significant ($p = < .05$) errors in relation to male evaluations.

[2] Non-significant errors in relation to male evaluations.

[3] One-tailed test of significance.

that this difference is statistically significant supports the hypothesis. However, since the test suffers from the weaknesses already noted, these findings should be taken as suggestive, requiring further research.

HYPOTHESIS 3.5 Females who emphasize male dimensions of attractiveness, more-so than females who don't, will view males as being interested in the physical attributes of females.

The attitudes of the attitude scale were directly related to the girl's perception of boys' interest in the physical attributes of girls. One attitude stated that "Boys are more interested in a girl's figure than in her personality."

This attitude was cross-tabulated with both physical and dress salience. The attitudinal responses were collapsed into agree, don't know and disagree. Physical salience is significantly related to this attitude about boys among the older girls and among those girls who are dating, see Table 21. Consistently, agreement with the attitude is associated with high physical salience and disagreement is associated with low physical salience. Interesting also is the observation that a greater percentage of the non-daters, 60.4% (29) disagree with the statement than daters who disagree, 43.8% (21). This suggests that it may be through dating that girls become aware of male attitudes.

Another attitude, "Boys talk among themselves about girl's figures," provided a further test of this hypothesis. The responses to this attitude were not significantly associated with concept salience (see

TABLE 21. Concept Salience by an Attitude About Boys[1] by Age and Dating

CONCEPT SALIENCE	Agree %	Don't Know %	Disagree %		Agree %	Don't Know %	Disagree %	
				Age				
		12,13 yr. olds				14,15 yr. olds		
High Physical Salience	64.3	64.3	48.3	n.s.	87.5	90.0	42.9	p=<.02
High Dress Salience	71.4	50.0	62.1	n.s.	25.0	80.0	61.9	n.s.
	N=14[2]	N=14	N=29		N=8	N=10	N=21	
				Dating				
		Daters				Non - daters		
High Physical Salience	78.6	84.6	42.9	p=<.02	62.5	63.6	48.3	n.s.
High Dress Salience	57.1	53.8	66.7	n.s.	50.0	72.7	58.6	n.s.
	N=14	N=13	N=21		N=8	N=11	N=29	

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[1] "Boys are more interested in a girl's figure than in her personality."

[2] Total N upon which each percentage is based.

Table 22). The high number of disagreers and don't knows among the younger group and among the non-daters suggests that dating is probably one of the major means whereby the girl becomes aware of male attitudes. Further, the data suggests that high physical salience is related to agreement and that not knowing whether boys talk about girls' figures is related to lower physical salience. This pattern is most striking among the non-daters. This relationship suggests that with the awareness of how males think and act, physical salience increases. This possibility will be pursued in the discussion of the results. The hypothesis is supported.

HYPOTHESIS 3.6 Females who emphasize male dimensions of attractiveness, more-so than females who don't, will be aware of male subcultural material.

There were many attitudes which were related to this hypothesis. Prior to testing this hypothesis, a correlation matrix of the fifteen attitudes was developed, see Appendix B, Table B-3. Three attitudes were found to correlate highly, attitudes which were all expressions of male subcultural material. To test this hypothesis, a score was developed for each of the subjects utilizing their responses to these three attitudinal items; a male subculture awareness index.[3]

The three groupings based on the male subcultural awareness index were cross-tabulated with physical and dress salience (see Table 23).

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[3] Those subjects who agreed with two of the three items were classified as "aware;" those who disagreed with two of the three as "unaware;" and those who agreed with one, disagreed with one and didn't know on the third as "don't know." Those who didn't know on two of the three items were also classed as "don't know."

TABLE 22. Concept Salience by an Attitude About Boys[1] by Age and Dating

CONCEPT SALIENCE	Agree %	Don't Know %	Disagree %		Agree %	Don't Know %	Disagree %	
				Age				
		12,13 yr. olds				14,15 yr. olds		
High Physical Salience	63.6	51.7	50.0	n.s.	76.2	52.9	0.0	n.s.
High Dress Salience	63.6	58.6	66.7	n.s.	52.4	64.7	100.0	n.s.
	N=22[2]	N=29	N=6		N=21	N=17	N=1[3]	
				Dating				
		Daters				Non - daters		
High Physical Salience	68.8	60.0	0.0	n.s.	72.7	48.4	50.0	n.s.
High Dress Salience	56.3	66.7	100.0	n.s.	63.6	58.1	66.7	n.s.
	N=32	N=15	N=1[3]		N=11	N=31	N=6	

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[1] "Boys talk among themselves about girl's figures."

[2] Total N upon which each percentage is based.

[3] Dropped in computation of X^2

TABLE 23. Concept Salience by Awareness of Male Subculture by Age and Dating

CONCEPT SALIENCE	Aware	Don't Know	Unaware		Aware	Don't Know	Unaware	
	%	%	%		%	%	%	
				Age				
	12,13 yr. olds				14,15 yr. olds			
High Physical Salience	71.4	66.7	42.9	n.s.	91.7	66.7	44.4	p=<.05
High Dress Salience	85.7	53.3	53.6	n.s.	58.3	44.4	66.7	n.s.
	N=14[1]	N=15	N=28		N=12	N=9	N=18	
				Dating				
	Daters				Non - daters			
High Physical Salience	82.4	83.3	36.8	p=<.01	77.8	50.0	48.1	n.s.
High Dress Salience	70.6	50.0	57.9	n.s.	77.8	50.0	59.3	n.s.
	N=17	N=12	N=19		N=9	N=12	N=27	

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[1] Total N upon which each percentage is based.

The table provides evidence that physical dimensions of attractiveness are significantly related to an awareness of male attitudes toward girls among 14 and 15 year olds and daters. These patterns are also apparent among younger and non-dating females. It can be seen, for example, that 91.7% of the older, aware girls attribute high salience to physical attractiveness. In contrast, about 44% of unaware older girls and 71% of aware younger girls have high physical salience attitudes.

Dress salient attitudes, though not significantly related, appear to be associated with awareness of male perspectives except among the 14 and 15 year olds. The importance of dress attitudes in female perspectives of attractiveness will be discussed in the final section of this chapter.

Further support concerning the contribution of dating to an awareness of male subculture values seems apparent in Table 23. Nearly twice as many daters (17, 35.4%) as non-daters (9, 18.8%) are aware of male values. Similar patterns can be seen between unaware daters and non-daters.

It has been suggested in several places in this chapter that dating may bring about increased awareness of male attitudes and male subculture among the girls. To further explore this possibility, one attitude was cross-tabulated with dating. The attitude, "Boys are always interested in seeing how far a girl will go," seems to sum up well what has been said to be characteristic about the male sexual subculture. When this attitude was related to dating, a very significant relationship resulted, (see Table 24). Among those who agreed with the attitude, 70.3% (26) were

TABLE 24. Dating by an Attitude About Boys[1].

DATING	Agree		Don't Know		Disagree	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Daters	70.3	(26)	42.9	(12)	32.3	(10)
Non - daters	29.7	(11)	57.1	(16)	67.7	(21)
TOTAL	100.0	(37)	100.0	(28)	100.0	(31)

$p = < .01$

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[1] "Boys are always interested in seeing how far a girl will go."

dating, contrasted with the 67.7% (21) of the non-daters who disagreed with the attitude. This test lends further support to the suggestion that dating is one important means whereby awareness of male attitudes and actions come to the female.

Since the questionnaire included several items pertaining to dating, it is possible to further explore the relationship of dating to physical and dress salience. Dating has been shown to be related to high physical salience suggesting that increased physical salience may be a consequence of the awareness of the male subculture gained through this form of heterosexual interaction.

To further test this relationship, the age at which the girls in the sample first dated was related to salience. It would be reasonable to expect that those who began dating early would tend to be higher in physical salience than those who began dating later. The results of this test are reported in Table 25. Age was not controlled because the four year age range represented in the sample would make the comparison between late and early daters very difficult. Although the relationship is not significant, there is a trend which would suggest that high physical salience is characteristic of those girls who have just begun to date, the 13 to 15 year group, and further that salience decreases as a result of dating experience. This can be seen in the gorup which began dating between 10 and 12 years old. Dress salience also shows this trend.

Table 26 shows the relationship between concept salience and parental control over dating frequency. The responses to the question of how frequently the subjects were allowed to date were collapsed

TABLE 25. Concept Salience by Age at First Date[1]

CONCEPT SALIENCE	Age at First Date[2]		
	10 to 12 yrs. old %	13 to 15 yrs. old %	
High Physical Salience	54.5	70.8	n.s.
High Dress Salience	54.5	66.7	n.s.
	N=22	N=24	

[1] Age was not controlled because the age range of the subjects would confound the association between the variables.

[2] Data are based on daters only; non-daters were excluded.

TABLE 26. Concept Salience by Age of Boys Dated by Age

CONCEPT SALIENCE	Age of Boys Dated					
	Same Age %	Older %		Same Age %	Older %	
	12, 13 yr. olds			14, 15 yr. olds		
High Physical Salience	36.4	72.7	n.s.	80.0	64.3	n.s.
High Dress Salience	54.5	72.7	n.s.	60.0	57.1	n.s.
	N=11	N=11		N=10	N=14	

into two categories; controlled and uncontrolled daters. Although none of the relationships are significant, there are trends which are suggestive. It can be seen that concept salience is higher among the older (14 and 15 year olds) uncontrolled daters than among those whose dating frequency is regulated. This can be seen most strikingly in the physical salience comparison where 76.5% of the uncontrolled daters were high in physical salience compared to 40% of the controlled daters. Since the number of subjects in these comparisons is small, the relationships do not attain significance. The trends are noted since they tend to support the earlier findings regarding the importance of dating to the awareness of male attitudes.

Finally, concept salience was cross-tabulated with the age of the boys who were dated. The results are reported in Table 27. Again, none of the relationships are significant. However, there are several important trends which should be noted. Younger girls (the 12 and 13 year olds) who date older boys are high in physical salience contrasted to their age peers who date boys who are their age. Interestingly, this trend is not seen in the older age group; indeed, physical salience tends to decrease among those older girls who are dating older boys and is higher among those who are dating boys who are their own age. These trends suggest that physical salience decreases as girls date older boys. In other words, it is possible that among older boys, 16 and 17 year olds, physical attributes of females lessen in importance, resulting in the decrease in physical salience observed in the older girls who are dating upward in age. The older girls who are dating boys their own age are dating boys in the

TABLE 27. Concept Salience by Parental Control of Frequency of Dating by Age

CONCEPT SALIENCE	Parental Control of Frequency of Dating					
	Controlled %	Uncontrolled %		Controlled %	Uncontrolled %	
	12, 13 yr. olds			14, 15 yr. olds		
High Physical Salience	50.0	50.0	n.s.	40.0	76.5	n.s.
High Dress Salience	50.0	58.3	n.s.	60.0	64.7	n.s.
	N=4	N=12		N=5	N=17	

later stages of pubescence, for whom the physical attributes of girls are still very important. This explanation gains added support from a comment made by a fifteen year old girl (relayed to the author) to the effect that she preferred to date older boys since they were not as "dirty" as boys her own age. The younger age group of girls who are dating upward in age are dating this same age group of boys and as a result they are highly physically oriented. The younger girls who are dating age peers are, it may be assumed, relatively new at dating and thus would lack the experience which seems to lower physical salience. These trends pose some very interesting questions which merit further investigation. They also lend further support to the earlier findings which suggested that dating is an important variable in the question of how pubescent girls gain insight into the male subculture.

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

The first set of hypotheses predicted that there would be perceptual differences between the male and female subcultures. These differences were found, supporting Udry's (1971) contention that males are more physically oriented than females. The basic question then became one of asking what differences might be found between females whose perspectives were similar to males and those whose perspectives were different. Two dimensions of attractiveness were selected as criterion for classifying the responses of the subjects. The responses of the subjects on the semantic differential were classified into high or low salience for both the physical and dress dimensions of attractiveness. Girls whose perspective was high in physical salience were similar in their perspective to males. The subsequent hypotheses were all expressions of what variables might be expected to be associated with high physical salience among females.

Although Table 6 indicates that dating is not significantly related to physical salience, subsequent tables indicate that older and dating females, given the effect of other factors, appear to have more salient physical perspectives of attractiveness than do younger and non-dating females.

Girls who concurred with the attitude that a girl should dress with boys in mind were not shown to be higher in physical salience than girls who disagreed with the attitude (Table 7). However, when asked if boys noticed attractively dressed girls, a significant proportion of the younger girls and the dating girls who agreed were found to be among the high physical saliency group (Table 8). In contrast, low physical salience characterized the greatest proportion of respondents who disagreed with the statement. These findings suggest that those girls who see the physical dimension of attractiveness as being important are also quite cognizant of the fact that boys notice attractively dressed girls. However, their awareness of these characteristics of boys did not seem to have any effect on their behaviour (Table 7). The question arises from the preceding as to whether girls would or indeed, could, admit to dressing for male approval. Such an admission might betray the "innocence" which is supposedly to be found in the presence of "true attractiveness" embraced in the romantic mythologies prevalent in our society. The findings would seem to confirm these observations. "Yes, boys notice attractively dressed girls," and "No, this makes no difference in the way I dress." This paradox is intensified by the observation that high physical salience is associated with the awareness that boys notice attractive girls, suggesting that the attitudes which are being denied are in fact present.

Hypothesis 2.3 suggested that girls who are very close to their fathers would have lower physical attitudes of attractiveness. The reasoning behind this hypothesis is that a very close relationship with the father results in the girl becoming aware of the male perspective, the over-emphasis of males upon the secondary sexual characteristics of females, through specific warnings or more "intimate" conversations with her father. In other words, the very close father would tend to share with his daughter the male perspective. In several respects such a father is betraying some of the codes of the male subculture.[4]. His departure from the values of his subculture would be passed along to the girl in counsel to the effect that the physical dimensions of attractiveness are too shallow and do not produce relationships like those which she can see in her family. In a sense, it is through the example of her very close father that she may pick up values which result in her defining attractiveness in terms other than just physical dimensions. Stated somewhat differently, it may be that the kind of male toward whom she orients is like her father and thus is not one to be attracted exclusively to physical qualities. The data are only suggestive of the above and much more research has to be undertaken to support or reject these ideas.

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[4] Sharing the male perspective with females is one such taboo; females should be shielded from locker room talk. Secondly, the fact that the father is very close to his daughter is a break with his subculture. Typically, males are supposed to produce families, not raise them. The subculture portrays the male as free, virile, a provider; yet he must not be "involved" with his family, unless such involvement is in the form of setting standards for his son on the sports field. (Turner, 1970)

Low physical salience was found to be associated with a very close relationship with the father among the younger girls and among those girls who did not date (Table 9). This trend was not observed among the older girls and among those girls who were dating. This might suggest that the close relationship with the father is an artifact were it not for the further observation that high physical salience is consistently seen to be associated with a "not close" relationship to the father. Indeed, if the distinction between very close and close is dropped, a distinction which may be too fine, the predicted trend is clearly supported.

Another explanation is possible. It could be that the younger girls and the non-daters are not aware of the importance of the physical dimension to males, not being interested in boys at this younger age or not being involved in dating. With the advent of physical development somewhat past among the older girls, physical salience understandably increases with their emerging sexuality. Daters, also, would likely be very much aware of the importance of their physical characteristics to males. In both situations, being older or dating, heightened physical saliency may take precedence over the father-daughter counsel which was more important when she was younger or when she was not involved with other males.

In any case, the hypothesis is only partially supported by the data. The consistently higher physical salience among those who are not close to their fathers lends further support to the hypothesis, though the low N's in the category weaken the support considerably.

The mother - daughter relationship and concept salience was investigated as a possible means of further understanding the role of parents in the formation of concept salience. In contrast to the father - daughter relationship, high physical salience was found to be associated with a very close relationship to the mother among the older (14, 15 year olds) group of girls. This is a reversal of the trend observed in this group in the father related data. Further, it was observed that among the non-daters high physical salience was associated with a very close relationship to the mother to a much greater degree than in the very close relationship to the father (50%:n=28/26%:n=19). Otherwise, the mother related data is similar to the father related data. The one other exception pertains to dress salience where in the mother relationship data, lower dress salience and a very close relationship are associated among the younger group. It is finally worthy of note that without exception a greater proportion of girls feel very close to their mothers in contrast to their fathers.

The association of high physically salient attitudes of attractiveness and closeness to the mother (in contrast to the patterns observed in the father related data) merits some attempt at explanation. It is possible that a close relationship with the mother generally does not provide the girl with insight into the male subculture, since the mother's counsel about boys is "filtered" through her female perspective. The mother, being pleased with her daughter's development, encourages her to dress and act like a "young woman". The attention directed to her physical development is not in terms of boys, but rather in terms of becoming a woman. She is encouraged to dress attractively, to make the most of her attributes; in a word, to be attractive. The emphasis on attractiveness, however, often lacks a referrent. Who is it that she is supposed to attract? Within this context of being encouraged to be attractive, she is also counseled by her mother to be wary of males. Mead (1949) refers to this phenomenon as the bad-girl, good-girl contradiction. She is to attract males, while at the same time resist their overtures. It is possible that the mother does not convey to her daughter that males may be aroused through her dress and mannerisms, but rather shares with her the essentially female perspective that males are "that way". Succinctly, girls are not provocative, boys are just over-sexed. Thus, high physical salience might be expected to be associated with the very close mother relationship, since the physical development of her daughter is important to the mother. However, since the implications and meanings connected with this development are either missing or avoided, the high salience is not tempered by the added awareness of its meaning to males, as postulated to be the case in the close father - daughter relationship. These are only speculations built on weak trends. It remains for further research to explore these issues further and more thoroughly.

Logically, the next question was one of what effect the presence of older siblings would have on physical salient attitudes. It was anticipated that the presence of older siblings would lower physical salience (hypothesis 2.4). The older siblings, in effect, would be performing the same functions as fathers in a close relationship with their daughters. The older males might convey cues to their younger sisters about the nature of the male subculture, while the older females would convey such cues more directly through their experiences in dating.

High physical salience was found among those girls who had no older male siblings and who were not dating. Also, the one exception regarding dress salience, occurred among the older girls who had no older male siblings.

Although high physical salience was found among the younger girls who had no older sisters (see Table 12), more striking evidence of high physical salience was found among dating girls without older sisters. The latter finding suggests that the presence of older sisters may have the effect of tempering or lowering the emphasis on the physical dimension among daters. This may well occur as a result of discussing their dating, with the older sisters counselling the younger girl in these areas.

Further, while the hypothesis suggests that the presence of older males may have the effect of making the younger girl aware of the male subculture, there are reasons why this may not in fact be true. It might well be that the girl interprets what she experiences in the presence of her older brothers in terms of her female perspective. In other words, the cues about the male subculture are reinterpreted in terms of the female view of reality. Whereas older males when "cautioning" their younger sisters about boys probably speak in generalities, it is possible that the older females might be more candid with their younger sisters. There is a suggestion in the data that such is the case. Girls who were dating and who had no older sisters were found to be highly salient on the physical component of attractiveness. The reverse was true for the dating subjects with older sisters (see Table 12).

The hypothesis which suggested that familiarity with the media pertaining to dress and make-up would be associated with high physical salience (hypothesis 2.5.) was not supported. A further test related the level of reading of teen-fashion magazines with saliency on both the physical and dress dimensions of attractiveness. Significant relationships were found, though not in the direction predicted (see Tables 14 - 16). It was found that low physical and dress salience were associated with regular reading of Seventeen and Teen. High physical and dress salience were associated with those girls who read the magazines very infrequently or not at all.

The findings suggest an explanation. It is possible that those who are regular readers of these magazines confront models of physique and fashion which are in the sense of their station in life, unreal or unattainable. Most girls are not fashion models nor do they have access, financially or otherwise, to the kinds of clothes being modelled. With these unattainable norms confronting them, cognitive dissonance may be the result (Festinger, 1957). Opinion change is one method of dissonance reduction. Defensively, the reader changes her evaluation of physique and fashion; saying to herself, in effect, that such things aren't really that important.

Cognitive dissoance theory suggests one other possible explanation. Regular readers of such magazines may be expressing, through their readership, attempts at dissonance reduction. Voluntary exposure to information, according to Festinger (1957), may be a means of further increasing dissonance to a point where a decision may be changed as a result. Confronted everywhere with social ideals of attractiveness (clothes, figure, personality, etc.), dissonance results from the unattainability of these ideals. Through increasing exposure to these ideals, through reading fashion magazines; the reader is attempting to so increase the dissonance to a point greater than the resistance to change of one or more of her cognitive elements. The final effect is the same as that suggested in the previous explanation; the ideals of fashion, figure and personality are not that important. These issues were not addressed in this research, so nothing may be offered in support of one explanation over the other.

Alternatively, girls who are not regular readers of these magazines are not as directly confronted with these unattainable norms. Rather, their physical and fashion norms may, for some unknown reason, be more realistic. Their dress norms may be within the range of what is available and financially possible. As a result, there is no psychological need to lower their valuation of the physical and dress dimensions of attractiveness.

In terms of the second possible explanation regarding dissonance reduction, non-readers may not experience dissonance, from the omnipresent ideals of feminine appearance. Why they might not experience dissonance poses an interesting question which falls outside the scope of this research. This issue awaits further investigation.

The third set of hypotheses investigated the self attributes and attitudes of the subjects which might be related to high physical or dress saliency.

Hypothesis 3.1 predicted that those girls who rated certain physical bipolar items highly in reference to "an attractive girl" would tend to rate themselves highly on these terms. Two indices were developed for the testing of this hypothesis, a physical salience index and a self rate index. The data did not support the hypothesis, though there was a weak trend in the direction of the hypothesized relationship.

Since all girls in the sample considered their appearance to be very important or important, hypothesis 3.2 concerning the relationship of importance of appearance to physical saliency could not be adequately tested. The data indicated that physical salience was not related to the importance placed on personal appearance.

Satisfaction with her state of physical development was not shown to be related to a girl's physical or dress saliency (Hypothesis 3.3). One pattern was observed which merited further consideration. Among the older subjects and non-daters, those rating their figures as either below or above average tended toward higher physical and dress salience than those evaluating their figures as average (see Table 19). In contrast, high physical and dress salience were associated with "average" figure evaluators among those who were dating.

Those who evaluated their figures as abnormal, above or below average, might be expected to be high in physical salience. Since they perceived their physical development to be exceptional, in a normative sense, their physical development would be more salient than among those who considered their development to be normal. The increased concern, saliency, would likely be reflected in their physical salience scores. Increased dress salience follows from this, for dress would be the logical means whereby the feelings of exceptionality might be managed. Because dress would be a means whereby the "stigma," being the exception, could be covered up, it would be expected that this dimension of attractiveness would be highly salient. The fact that the highest proportion of high dress salient subjects are in the older age group who feel their figures to be below average tends to confirm the above explanation. Among this age group, being below average in physical development begins to take on the dimensions of "given-ness," a fact of life which is unlikely to change and therefore dress salience might be expected to be at its highest.

One further observation concerning the data, not related to the questions posed in this research, should be noted. Age was clearly related to satisfaction with physical development; a relationship displayed vividly in the column totals, see Table 19. This is understandable and requires no further explanation.

If girls who are high on physical salience are more like boys in their perspective of the world, would not their evaluations of other girls tend to be similar to those of the boys? This was the question asked in hypothesis 3.4. There was limited support for the hypothesis in that the high physically salient group of girls made significantly less errors in judgment than did their low physical salience female peers. This finding suggests that the highly physical perspective carries over into the criterion which these girls invoke to evaluate their peers and in this respect they tended to be more like the males.

That the girls displaying high physical saliency are more like boys in their perspective, or at least more aware of the male perspective and its importance to them in terms of gaining male approval, was further supported in the testing of hypothesis 3.5. Older girls and girls who were dating among the high physical salience group were well aware of boys' interests in the physical attributes of girls (see Table 21). The low salience group did not see boys as being particularly interested in girls' figures. Further, the same groups, daters and older girls, were represented in the significant association between high physical salience and awareness of the content of the male subculture (Table 23).

The last two hypotheses (3.5 and 3.6) suggest a possible relationship between physical concept saliency and both dating and maturing. It may be possible that girls become more literate concerning the male perspective through dating and through maturing. Their attitudes about boys are modified by their interaction with them. Although they may not be able to articulate their attitudes as such, girls are "aware" that boys seem to see things differently than they do, particularly in the area of sex. The parental warnings without explanation or detail about boys begin to take on meaning. With their growing awareness of how boys are thinking, coupled with their desire for approval in terms of dating and attention, the physical components of attractiveness increase in saliency. The older, non-dating, girls probably come in contact with information about boys through their peers who are dating. Though their knowledge comes second hand, it is probably still more specific than that received from her parents. This would explain the relationship between the awareness of male attitudes and the male sexual subculture being associated with high physical saliency.

SUMMARY

Within the limitations already discussed in relation to each hypothesis, it can be said that the three major hypotheses were supported. Considerable theoretical and research work still remains, as the majority of the findings in this study are only suggestive.

The next chapter deals with one theoretical model in terms of which these findings might be explained and clarified.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

The period of pubescence marks an important juncture in the life of the female, for it is a period in which she moves into a saliently sexual role. With the onset of pubescence she necessarily must incorporate this dimension of her somatic self into her self conception. The awareness of the changes taking place in her physical being results in the concommitant awareness of others' awareness of these changes and the meanings connected with her sexuality.

What was previously regarded as cute or pretty was also quite sexless in meaning. As cuteness or prettiness is rephrased into attractiveness, the appearance quality takes on an added dimension of meaning which is relative to those who are "being attracted." Being attractive has sexual overtones which were not present in the earlier physical descriptions. Seeing herself in terms of attractiveness (postively or negatively) constitutes a major role transition for the girl in that the whole concept involves new orientational others, males. Possessing the quality of being attractive means many things such as being datable, being popular or just enjoying the attention of these culturally defined significant others. Being defined as attractive or at least knowing how to manage one's appearance in this respect, it has been argued, is closely linked to the self concept. The girl's attitudes about herself, her ideas of what constitutes femininity and to what degree she possesses it, are related to how she perceives those significant "judges" (males) to be perceiving her (Turner, 1970; p. 309)

With the coming of pubescence the girl turns to the male audience for cues of approval as her sexuality derives much of its meaning from the responses of the other sex. Knowing what these others are "looking for" in their evaluations amounts to knowing the rules of the heterosexual interaction game. Knowing the perspective of these others places the girl in the position of being able to "present" herself to maximize the desired benefits from the interaction. In terms of the model developed in this research, knowing the rules places the girl in the position of being better prepared to negotiate the interaction to maximize her personal benefits. Conversely, being unaware of the male perspective places her in the position of being at a disadvantage, which in male terminology is regarded as being naive. Being partially aware, such as in the case of knowing what constitutes attractiveness, but being unaware of how males valuate physical characteristics also constitutes a disadvantageous position in the interaction. For while she may know how to present herself, she lacks the required acting skills. In such a situation she may well experience conflict in that her appearance elicites male responses for which she has no behavioral repertoire, i.e. being defined by males as "sexy" and not being able to behaviorally accept or reject the role.

REVIEW OF THE FINDINGS

In this study, two conceptual dimensions of attractiveness, as it refers to females, were utilized as measures of the differing perceptual realities of males and females. It was found that among males attractiveness embraces highly physical components of meaning. Among females attractiveness involves dress meanings. Deeper analysis of the male and female perspectives reveals that both perspectives involve appearance in the definition of attractiveness. The essential difference between the male and female perspective lies with the physical dimension. Females see the attractive girl as one who is dressed appropriately and who is physically good looking. The female perspective does not equate attractiveness with sexuality. An attractive girl is pretty or cute, not sensuous. A synonym for attractiveness which might well describe the components of the male perspective is "sexy."

The question was addressed as to how pubescent females become aware of the male perspective. It was hypothesized that several variables might be related to their being prepared in advance of actual heterosexual interaction; that is, their anticipatory socialization. What characteristics might be found to be associated with the male perspective, high physical salience, among young adolescent females?

With only a few exceptions, high physical salience was found to be associated with the variables tested among older girls and among girls who were dating. As earlier noted, in the absence of these other variables, dating and age did not account for high physical salience.

High physical salience was found to be associated with other knowledge about boys among the older and dating groups. Those who knew that boys noticed attractive girls, that boys were interested in the physical attributes of females and who knew something about the male subculture tended to be highly physically oriented. Also, these older and dating girls who were physically oriented tended to be close to their mothers and not close to their fathers. High physical salience was associated with low levels of reading of the teen magazines. Among the daters, high physical salience was associated with having no older female siblings.

Among those girls who were not dating, high physical salience was found to be associated with the absence of older male siblings. The physical dimension was found to be associated with either under or over evaluation of their figures among girls who were older or who were not dating. Finally, physical salience was found to be related to accuracy in sociometric judgments of female peers in terms of attractiveness; those girls who were high in physical salience being the most accurate in relation to the male judgments.

ONE EXPLANATION

That dating was found to be associated with high physical salience in the presence of other variables is not unexpected, but rather quite consistent with the conceptual approach of this study. It is through dating that the girl becomes aware of the symbols of the male subculture. Within the framework of heterosexual interaction she encounters cues and symbols which she cannot fully interpret within her female subcultural view of reality. These incongruous symbols and experiences may be cognitively fused with earlier "counsel" from parents, siblings and peers or other input, which were previously not fully comprehended in terms of both subcultures, to produce the rudiments of awareness of the male subculture. In other words, much of what she previously received by way of preparing her for heterosexual interaction was not fully understood because it was placed into an essentially female perspective. Through interaction with males her female perspective is altered to the degree as to permit these previous inputs to be reinterpreted against a broader reality base. Similarly, experiences of the world increase with age. Therefore, that increased physical salience was found to be associated with older age in the presence of other variables is quite understandable.

In defining an attractive girl, it would seem reasonable that those girls who have some familiarity with the content of the male subculture would define attractiveness as including physical terms. Attractiveness implies a referent, which in this case is the male audience. There awareness of the other reality, the male world, provides these girls with meanings of attractiveness which encompass the meanings held by those who are being attracted.

All of this suggests that anticipatory socialization directed at preparing the girl for interaction with males may not accomplish, to any great degree, the purpose for which it is intended. This is primarily due to the fact that the content of the communication with the young adolescent girl is either so nebulous so as to be devoid of meaning or it is essentially female in perspective resulting in a bias which makes interaction with males more difficult. Considering the significant others who surround the girl at this age, it can be seen why it is difficult for her to gain access to information about the way boys think.

Parenthetically, it should be noted that the situation relative to boys is quite different. Boys can and do gain access to how females think, primarily because the content of the female subculture is not taboo. Fashion, romance and love are readily accessible themes in our culture. In contrast, the themes of the male subculture are not as accessible. This is particularly the case when it comes to transmitting the male themes to the young innocent girl who is facing the big, wonderful, exciting world of dating and fun.

It is possible that the reason that the young girl "cannot" gain insight into the male subculture from her mother is related to the fact that the mother's warnings or information about males is communicated in terms of the female perspective. In other words, the information that the mother communicates to the daughter about boys has either undergone a reformulation in terms of the female perspective or that the mother herself is essentially naive of the differing male perspective. In any case, the girl receives an "essentially" inaccurate account of the way her male peers think.

Where the girl is close to her father, his admonitions and counsel are probably subjected to the same process in two ways. First, he couches his counsel in less than direct language, language which he feels appropriate for his young daughter and she in return receives this rather nebulous counsel and "retranslates" it in terms of her female perspective. To elaborate, since the father tempers his counsel about boys, the stimulus received is vague and this ambiguity permits the girl to easily place his counsel into her mother's terms, the female perspective. Concretely, it is doubtful that the father would tell his daughter that boys are sexually stimulated by breasts and tight sweaters. More likely, he would say something to the effect that boys are more interested in sex than girls and that she should watch out for this; indeed, if he communicates even this much. Similarly, the mother too may refrain from being explicit and opt for giving general counsel about boys being aggressive or only "out for one thing."

Interestingly, among those girls who reported being "very close" to their fathers, there was indication that they were more likely to be low in physical salience. This may be related to their closer relationship to their fathers, which may at this age retard their quest for outside male attention.

In a similar manner, the presence of older male siblings can be explained in terms of the effect on the girl's awareness of the male subculture. Through overhearing her older brother(s) she may indirectly come upon limited insight about males. It seems doubtful that her brothers would intentially tell her how boys talk and see things, at least not explicitly. In any case, there is the very real possibility that this indirectly secured information may be retranslated.

In the case of the presence of older female siblings, the situation changes. Under such conditions the older girls may be quite explicit to their younger sister in describing their experiences with boys. Since these experiences are likely to be recent, they would be less likely to be tempered by time, as in the case of the mother's experiences. Under such circumstances, the information is less likely to be retranslatable. It is recent, it is explicit and it is shared between intimates.

The same reasoning applies to the use of the media. As Weiss (1969) observes, the media are best understood in terms of what people use the media for, rather than what the media do to people. In this study, high physical salience was found to be inversely associated with regular readership of Seventeen and Teen. It is quite possible that those who read these magazines are doing so for their fantasy value. This would make the magazines particularly attractive to those who are not involved in heterosexual interaction or whose involvement is much less than it is felt it should be. Those who are actively involved in heterosexual interaction, whose physical salience is higher through knowing about males, do not require the counsel and fantasy of these magazines. They in a sense know what it takes to maintain heterosexual interaction and recognize that the content of the magazines is foreign to their experiences. Those who are not yet involved or whose involvement with males is infrequent may turn to the media to find out what it will be like or to receive advice on how to improve the situation, respectively. In either case, the imagery presented in these magazines is generally unattainable, indeed, much of it is fantasy in quality. Few girls are fashion models, few have budgets which could maintain the wardrobes advertised and few have the facilities to travel as the magazines suggest. The mythology that with being a vibrant, fashionable and free young woman comes romance, adventure and male attention is part and parcel of the Cinderella dream for which the girl has been prepared in so many ways (Wylie, 1955). Those who do not have actual heterosexual experience, or whose experience is minimal may not realize that a gulf exists between these myths and reality.

Thus, it seems that actual interaction with males, not necessarily limited to dating, is the most efficient way of becoming aware of the content of the male subculture. The extent to which a girl became aware of the male perspective would depend upon the quantity and quality of her interactions with males as well as the content of the reality into which she incorporates these new experiences.

It seems, in summary, that once a girl begins to receive male cues which she cannot readily fit into her female perspective, she begins the process of putting together a picture of the male subculture. Though she may never articulate her understandings of males as such, i.e., that these differences are subculturally produced, she nevertheless has access to this reality for use in her interaction with males. This makes her better equipped to negotiate the interaction. She can recognize a "line" when she hears one and she can have a relatively clear idea of what her dress and mannerisms convey to the male audience. Having this information makes it possible for her to harmonize her self concept and her presentation of self. Simply, she has an idea of how she wishes to be regarded by males and has sufficient knowledge about the male perspective to make it possible to manage her desired impression.

High physical salience was found to be associated with more accurate judgment of other females. This too can be understood in terms of the perspective against which the physically oriented girl is defining attractiveness. Being aware of the male perspective, she incorporates males as the referents of the word. Thus, when asked to evaluate the attractiveness of the girls around her, she does so in terms of how males would judge them. She defines attractiveness similarly to males. Girls who are not yet aware of the male perspective would tend to judge their peers in an essentially female perspective; cute, pretty, well dressed.

Finally, the finding that high physical salience is accompanied by a greater awareness of male attitudes and subculture has already been discussed. It is through interaction with males that all of these insights are gained. When the girl becomes aware of how males see things, it is understandable that her definition of attractiveness will expand to include the physical dimension. Being attractive implies being attractive to someone and thus it would be in terms of that "other's" understanding of attractiveness that the "attractor" would define attractiveness.

ROLE TRANSITION: NON-SEXUAL TO SEXUAL

Burr (1972) developed a theoretical scheme which attempts to reformulate and relate theoretical propositions pertaining to variation in the ease of making role transitions. The conceptual model developed in this research can be expressed in terms of this role transition model.

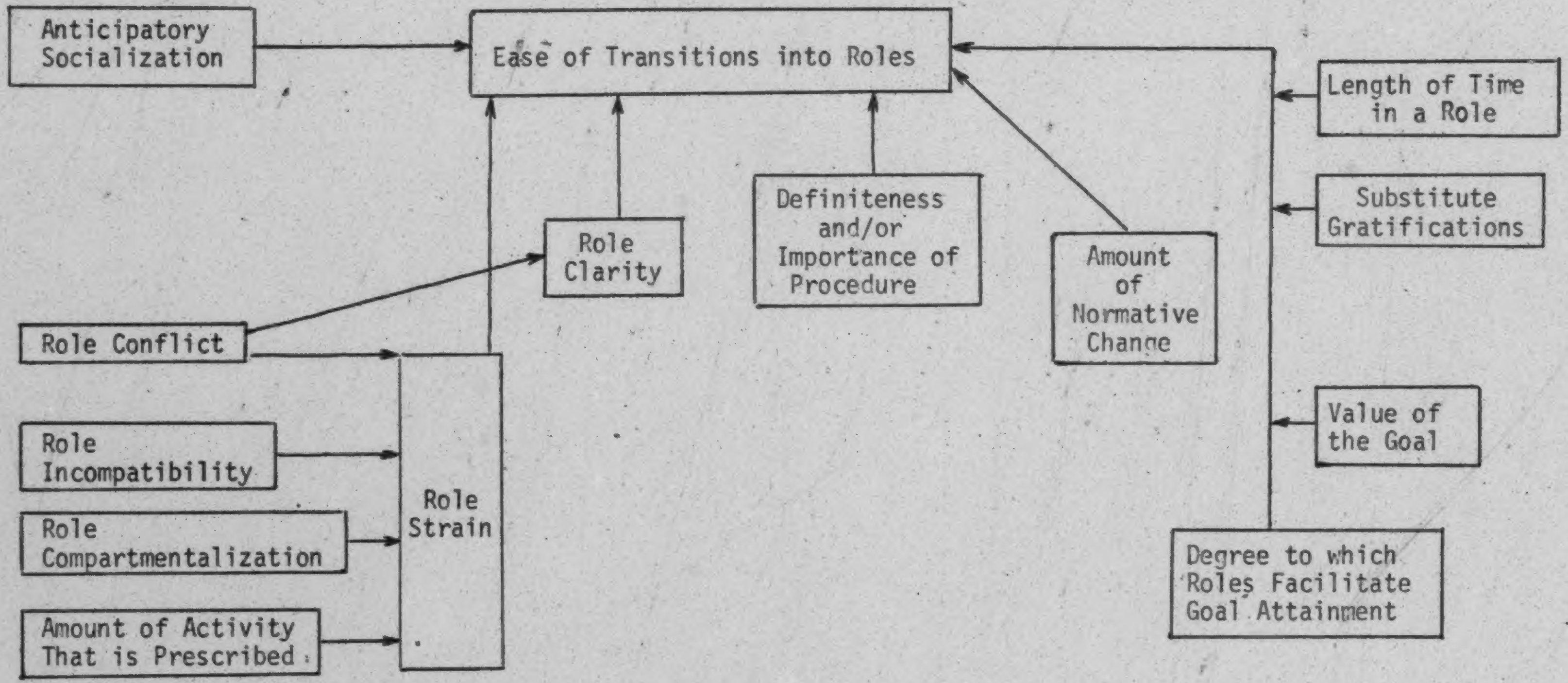
It is hypothesized in this research that the role of sexual female comes with the onset of puberty. As earlier noted, a distinction was made between being cute or pretty and being attractive; a distinction which is made on the absence or presence of sexual meanings. The pubescent girl, to state the polarities for contrast, moves from being non-sexual to being sexual in terms of significant others. This certainly can be considered to be a case of role transition in the sense of Burr's paradigm. Burr's model of the variables related to ease of role transition is presented in Figure VI.

As seen in the model, ease of role transition is a function of anticipatory socialization, role strain, role clarity, importance, amount of normative change, degree to which roles facilitate goal attainment, value of the goal, substitute gratifications and length of time in the role. Each of these variables can be related to the issues addressed in this research.

The question of anticipatory socialization has already been discussed. Suffice it to say at this point that the results seem to indicate that very little accurate anticipatory socialization occurs in terms of making the pubescent girl aware of the male perspectives. What does seem to happen in this respect is that her society prepares her to look to males for evaluation of her "attractiveness." The preparation of the girl to look to males for acceptance has been well discussed in the literature and sufficiently documented so as not to require extended discussion beyond mention in this context. What is of interest is that

FIGURE VI.

PROPOSITIONS IN A THEORY OF THE EASE OF MAKING ROLE TRANSITIONS


Anticipatory Socialization
Ease of Transitions into Roles
Length of Time in a Role
Substitute Gratifications
Role Clarity
Definiteness and/or Importance of Procedure
Amount of Normative Change
Role Conflict
Role Incompatibility
Role Compartmentalization
Amount of Activity That is Prescribed
Role Strain
Value of the Goal
Degree to which Roles Facilitate Goal Attainment

awareness of the male perspectives comes through actual interaction with males rather than previous to such interaction. It appears that heterosexual interaction requires the girl to reinterpret her anticipatory socialization. The vague "warnings" about boys become concrete through interaction with them. With the exceptions previously noted, it appears that accurate awareness of the male subculture does not come until actual interaction with males.

Role strain is related to ease of transition into roles in an inverse relationship. The more role strain experienced by the subject, the more difficult will be the transition into the new role. Role strain is a function of role conflict, incompatibility, compartmentalization and the amount of activity prescribed in relation to the new role. It can readily be seen that conflict could ensue when the girl is unprepared to think of herself in sexual-attractive terms. Being unable to think of herself in such terms, her physical development may become stigmatic in her self image. Her heightened sensitivity to others' awareness of her physical development may result in behaviors typical of the stigmatized (Goffman, 1963). Withdrawal from interaction, shyness and negative self feelings are several possible results of feeling stigmatized. Conflict might be generated by numerous attitudes which valuate sexuality in essentially negative terms, i.e. dirty or wrong. Such negative valuations find expression in sayings such as, "Boys are interested in only one thing." Role conflict might also result from being aware of the male perspectives and being unwilling to play to the full expectations of the "audience," in Goffman's (1959) terminology.

Similarly, the awareness of the full dimensions of the male perspective may result in role incompatibility. A frequently heard female expression related to this situation is, "But I'm not that kind of girl."

Given the circumstances of adolescent heterosexual interaction, compartmentalization of roles is very understandable. The context in which the role of the attractive girl is played determines the performance. In the specific situation under consideration, the pubescent/adolescent girl might play to the male audience the role of an attractive girl more fully than she would play it in the presence of her parental audience. Such a dual role would contribute to role strain and affect the ease of transition into the new role of being sexually attractive. Such performances might well earn the label of "coquetteish."

Finally, the amount of activity prescribed is related to role strain. If the girl is fully aware of the expectations of the audience to which she is playing (in this case males) and the expectations exceed the definitions she holds of propriety, then considerable role strain could follow affecting the ease of transition into the new role.

Burr's model also suggests that role clarity influences the ease of transition into roles. Again the problems and conflicts related to the "good-bad girl" presentation are well known and covered in the literature (Mead, 1955). The role of the attractive female is not characterized by clarity. Indeed, this would seem to be the place where the major proportion of difficulty would seem to lie. The role embraces conflicting demands. She is to be sufficiently attractive so as to elicit the attention of males, which in male terms means being physically attractive (measurements, figure, etc.) and further that this attractiveness be accompanied by a performance in keeping with the quality of being attractive. However, she is also expected to embrace values of one degree or another which prohibit her from fully responding to the expectations of the male audience, the "good-bad girl." She is to be flirtatious, tantalizing, and attractive as a means to popularity, while at the same time not fully acting out the messages which she conveys. Attractiveness which embraces sexual components coupled with maintaining non-involvement sexually contributes to a lack of role clarity. This can be summed up in the female question, "Where did he ever get the idea that I'm that type of girl?"

The importance of the role transition cannot be denied. Simply, the girl cannot avoid pubescence. It commands attention! Her society acknowledges the onset of pubescence with comments such as, "You're a young lady now" and/or comments about figure, development, etc. The adornment of the body to enhance the emerging sexuality is still another way that the importance of this transition is marked.

The amount of normative change required influence the ease of transition into the role and has already been touched upon in the paragraphs on role clarity and role compartmentalization. The normative change comes particularly in the context of viewing herself sexually and adjusting her values to permit playing the new role within the tolerable limits of those values.

The other variables in Burr's model which contribute to the ease of role transition are length of time in a role, substitute gratifications, value of the goals and the degree to which roles facilitate goal attainment. It is sufficient to say that the pubescent female will spend the remainder of her life in the sexual role and therefore the transition is of paramount importance.

The number of acceptable substitute gratifications available as alternatives to the sexual role are limited and accompanied by negative valuations. That our society exhibits values to the effect that every girl should be desirous of male attention, be attractive as possible, and that every girl should "get a man" is well covered in the literature. Alternatives to these values are still considered to be abnormal and as such are accompanied by varying amounts of social castigation, witness the comments made about tomboys. In Goffman's (1963) terms, the female who is not interested in male attention is "stigmatized." She is an "old maid," "hung-up," or "frustrated." Similarly, the value of the goal can be seen in terms of the great pressure toward the attainment of sexuality in our society and the great amount of prejudice directed at those who don't attain it. The value of the goal of being sexual is also related to the attention which the girl enjoys and the enhancement of her self feelings.

The role of being a sexual female facilitates the attainment of the goal to which she has been socialized, that of being found acceptable (desirable) by the males. Popularity, datability and attractiveness are all bound up with being acceptable to males.

IMPLICATIONS

Burr's model suggests that the ease of transition into being sexual is related to a number of variables connected with the role. The findings of this research suggest that an important reformulation of the expectations of the role may take place with the advent of heterosexual interaction. Prior to the actual interaction with males, the girl may present much of the appropriate behavior and appearances without being aware of the meanings and implications. With the acquisition of the male meanings these appearances and behaviors may be revised in terms of the new awareness of the audience's expectations.

It would appear from this study that there is little information conveyed to the pubescent female about the male perspective, subculture, by sources other than her male peers and possibly older sisters. Thus it might be concluded that much of the anticipatory socialization for the sexual role involves essentially the trappings without the meanings of these appearances to the audience to which they are directed. There is little to suggest that these meanings, these insights into the male experience of reality, are obtained from any other source than actual heterosexual interaction.

FUTURE RESEARCH

The question of how much the typical pubescent female knows about the male perspectives prior to dating certainly has not been adequately answered in this study. This would certainly be an area for future research. The whole question of the content and extent to which the male subculture is embraced today constitutes an important question, particularly in consideration of the current movement to abolish the double standard and to equalize the roles of the sexes.

Indeed, if it could be demonstrated that some girls possess an awareness of the male subculture prior to actual heterosexual interaction, it would be of considerable importance to determine the sources of their information. Further, what are the effects of such advanced information in terms of playing the game of heterosexual interaction in dating? Is the girl better able to negotiate the sexual relationship with insight into the male rules? It would seem so.

Another interesting possibility for study is the hypothetical situation wherein the girl has the appearance of being aggressively sexual and is not aware of the messages which she is sending. Is such a situation possible? If so, what can be known about it and what variables might account for it? The case is interesting in that it involves some very important questions for symbolic interaction theory in that her "others" would be responding to her in terms which it would appear she is unable to "read." The whole question of "unintended" presentations of self is an intriguing one.

SUMMARY

It would appear from this study that males and females continue to view the sexual interaction ritual differently. Inspite of the increased pressure toward doing away with these male-female differences, this research would seem to suggest that the egalitarian moves have not reached the pubescent males and females of our society, at least not the ones sampled for this study. The differing definitions of attractiveness certainly do not suggest much change from earlier descriptions of the content of the male subculture. Perhaps Montagu's observation that males only say they are playing in terms of the female's rules still attains.

This study suggests that the pubescent girls sampled were playing the heterosexual interaction game in terms of the male rules. It might well be that as daters they realize that the male audience still determines the success of their performances in the area where it counts most at this age, securing dates. When the audience, males, retains the power of asking, then it would seem reasonable that those who desire to be asked will find it to their advantage to know the preferences of the askers. For the adolescent girl desirous of male attention the issue is not the rightness or wrongness of the dating "rules," but rather playing in terms of the rules. The desired "payoff" seems to determine the performance.

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APPENDIX "A"

RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

(The first Semantic Differential)

___Male ___Female

Some people define "attractiveness" in different ways. Listed below are several different ways of describing your definition of "attractive." Using the 7 point scale, indicate with a check (✓) the degree of importance each word has in your definition of attractive.

The center space for each word means that neither word is important in your definition of attractive or that it is not a part of your definition.

Bold ___ ✓ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Modest

In the above example, the person has indicated that being "bold" is a very important part of being attractive.

An ATTRACTIVE GIRL is:

Glamourous ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Unglamourous
Rigid ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Spontaneous
Elegant ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Coarse
Unnatural ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Natural
Charming ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Offensive

Ugly ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Pretty
Mysterious ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Known
Brazen ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Docile
Unfascinating ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Fascinating
Daring ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Modest

Alluring ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Unalluring
Guilty ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Innocent
Unlovable ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Lovable
Uninhibited ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Restrained
Hot ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Cold

Uninteresting ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Interesting
Easy ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Hard
Not sensational ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Sensational
Bold ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Modest
Sophisticated ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Crude

Not sensual ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Voluptuous
Graceful ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Clumsy
Not passionate ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Passionate
Unstimulating ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Stimulating
Captivating ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Offensive

"ATTRACTIVE" 2.

Provocative	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Not provocative
Well kept	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Straggled
Groovy	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Out of it
Unpopular	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Popular
Fast	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Slow
Irresistible	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Resistible
Calm	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Shocking
Not dreamy	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Dreamy
Wild	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Tame
Shapely	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Shapeless
Not vulnerable	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Vulnerable
Affectionate	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Cold
Iceberg	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Sexy
Dull	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Radiant
Delicate	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Rough
Feminine	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Masculine
Unadorable	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Adorable
Good	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Wicked
Luscious	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Repulsive
Thrilling	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Uninteresting
Built	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	"Blah"
Tough	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Tender
Not bewitching	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Bewitching
Fascinating	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Repelling
Cool	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Not cool
Not vibrant	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Vibrant
Devastating	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Not devastating
Simple	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Sophisticated
Not desirous	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Desirous
Proportioned	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Unproportioned
Unseductive	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Seductive
Strong	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Frail
Well dressed	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Plainly dressed
Enticing	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Not enticing
Sour	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Sweet

"ATTRACTIVE" 3.

Exquisite	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Not exquisite
Homely	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Lovely
Enchanting	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Disgusting
Leggy	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Not leggy
"Comes on" strong	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	"Comes on" weak
Figure	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Flat
Dull	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Glowing
Tantalizing	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Not tantalizing
Sensual	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Not sensual
Stuck up	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Flirty
Sweater	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Blouse
Inhibited	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Free
Fashionable	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Plain
Not smashing	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Smashing
Enravishing	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Not enravishing
Good looking	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Not good looking
Long hair	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Short hair
Plain	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Intriguing
Neat	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Sloppy
Not raptuous	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Raptuous
Slow	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Fast
Romantic	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Boring
Passionate	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Cold
Fun loving	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Serious minded
Spicy	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Modest
Not beautiful	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Beautiful
Resistible	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Irresistible
Bold	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Modest

Your Number ______

Your Age ______

Grade in school _____

NOTE: Each girl in your group has been assigned a number.

The number is written on the board for you to use in answering some of the questions.

The following questions are in the form of multiple choice, which means that you can answer them by placing a (✓) before the most fitting answer. There are no "right" answers to these questions, just your answer.

1. Do you date? ___Yes ___No

2. How old were you when you had your first date?

___10
___11
___12
___13
___14
___15
___16
___haven't dated

3. What grade were you in when you had your first date?

___6
___7
___8
___9
___10
___haven't dated.

4. How often do your parents allow you to date?

___Not allowed
___Once a month
___Twice a month
___Once a week
___As often as I want to

5. How often do you date?

___Not allowed
___Once a month
___Twice a month
___Once a week
___As often as opportunity per permits

6. How old are the boys that you most often date?

___Younger
___Same age
___One yr. older
___Two yrs. older
___More than two yrs. olders

7. My relationship with my father is:

___Very close
___Close
___Not very close
___Not close at all
___Don't know

8. My relationship with my mother is:

___Very close
___Close
___Not very close
___Not close at all
___Don't know

9. My father thinks the way I dress is:

___Very important ___Important
___Don't know
___Unimportant ___Very unimportant

10. My mother thinks the way I dress is:

___Very important ___Important
___Don't know
___Unimportant ___Very unimportant

11. Do your parents interfere with the way you dress?

___Yes, father mostly
___Yes, mother mostly
___Both of my parents interfere
___No, my parents do not interfere

12. How would you describe your father's & mother's taste in clothes?

Father		Mother
___	Excellent	___
___	Very good	___
___	Good	___
___	O.K.	___
___	Not very good	___
___	Poor	___

13. When you have a new "dress up" outfit, before whom would you normally model it?

___Father ___Mother ___Both

___Other, who?___________________

14. If your skirt were "too short" who would most likely comment?

___Father ___Mother ___Both

___Other, who?___________________

15. If your general appearance were considered to be "excessive" who would tell you?

___Father ___Mother ___Both

___Other, who?________________

16. How would you judge your figure to be?

___Poor

___Less than average

___Average

___Better than average

___Excellent

17. How important is your appearance?

___Very important

___Important

___Not very important

___Unimportant

xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

What are the ages of your brothers and sisters and how do you judge that you get along with them?

	Age	Poor	Fair	Average	Good	Outstanding
Brother 1	___	___	___	___	___	___
2	___	___	___	___	___	___
3	___	___	___	___	___	___
4	___	___	___	___	___	___
5	___	___	___	___	___	___
6	___	___	___	___	___	___
Sister 1	___	___	___	___	___	___
2	___	___	___	___	___	___
3	___	___	___	___	___	___
4	___	___	___	___	___	___
5	___	___	___	___	___	___
6	___	___	___	___	___	___

How often do you use the following?

	NEVER	RARELY	OCCASIONALLY	REGULARLY
Blotting powder	___	___	___	___
Cologne	___	___	___	___
Eye make-up:				
Mascara	___	___	___	___
Eye shadow	___	___	___	___
False eyelashes	___	___	___	___
Lipstick	___	___	___	___
Liquid make-up	___	___	___	___
Nail polish	___	___	___	___
Perfume	___	___	___	___
Toner	___	___	___	___

What do boys look for in the girls they date?

	Highly Important	Medium Importance	Low Importance	Not Important
Clothes	___	___	___	___
Figure	___	___	___	___
Looks	___	___	___	___
Morals	___	___	___	___
Personality	___	___	___	___

Below are listed eight fashion magazines. Indicate with a (✓) in the appropriate column how often you read each publication.

	READ EACH ISSUE	READ MOST ISSUES	READ SOME ISSUES	VERY RARELY READ	DON'T READ IT
Bazaar	___	___	___	___	___
Glamour	___	___	___	___	___
Ingenue	___	___	___	___	___
Mademoiselle	___	___	___	___	___
Miss Chatelaine	___	___	___	___	___
Seventeen	___	___	___	___	___
Teen	___	___	___	___	___
Vogue	___	___	___	___	___

If you read any of the above mentioned fashion magazines, either regularly or occasionally, what do you find most interesting in them?

	Most Interesting	Interesting	Slightly Interesting	Not at all Interesting
Advertising	___	___	___	___
Decorating Articles	___	___	___	___
Fashion Articles	___	___	___	___
Fiction	___	___	___	___
Food Articles	___	___	___	___
Make-up Articles	___	___	___	___
Sports	___	___	___	___
Travel	___	___	___	___

xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

The following questions concern your friends and others in your class.

For each of the five questions, write in the numbers of the girls in your class who fit the description given in the question.

Who are your best girl friends in the class?

1. ___ 4. ___
2. ___ 5. ___
3. ___

In your opinion, who are the best dressers in your class?

1. ___ 4. ___
2. ___ 5. ___
3. ___

Who are the most popular girls in the class with boys?

1. ___ 4. ___
2. ___ 5. ___
3. ___

List the girls whose opinion on your appearance you would welcome in your class.

1. ___ 4. ___
2. ___ 5. ___
3. ___

Who are the most attractive girls in your class?

1. ___ 4. ___
2. ___ 5. ___
3. ___

The following 15 items are statements often heard in school. Indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with the statement by placing a (✓) in the space which best indicates your feeling.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DON'T KNOW	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	
___	___	___	___	___	Boys are always interested in seeing how far a girl will go.
___	___	___	___	___	Boys are more interested in how a girl looks than how she acts.
___	___	___	___	___	Boys are more interested in a girl's figure than her personality.
___	___	___	___	___	Girls don't like girls who are prettier than themselves.
___	___	___	___	___	Girls talk about girls who are phony dressers.
___	___	___	___	___	Girls dislike girls who dress to attract boys.
___	___	___	___	___	Boys notice girls who dress attractively.
___	___	___	___	___	Boys talk among themselves about girl's figures.
___	___	___	___	___	Girls talk among themselves about other girl's figures.
___	___	___	___	___	A girl should dress with boys in mind.
___	___	___	___	___	It is important for a girl to look her best at all times.
___	___	___	___	___	You can tell what a girl is like by the way she dresses.
___	___	___	___	___	If a boy becomes "too friendly" on a date, the girl is to blame.
___	___	___	___	___	If a boy becomes "too friendly" on a date, the boy is to blame.
___	___	___	___	___	If a boy becomes "too friendly" on a date, both are to blame.

Below are listed 50 brand names and company names. After each name in the space provided, write the product if you know it, otherwise mark an "X"

EXAMPLE: Ford car

Name	Product	Name	Product
Chanel		Northern Lights	
Natural Wonder		Red Eyes	
Tee-Kays		Berkshire	
Gothic		Cybill	
Monet		Tigress	
White Rain		Lovable	
KiKu		Cole	
Lollipop		Twice as Nice	
Breck		Colorsilk	
Exquisite Form		Hanes	
Danskin		Great Body	
Buxton		Maidenform	
Nice n' Easy		White Stage	
Bass Tacks		Protein 21	
Today's Girl		Grenier	
Daisyfresh		Cover Girl	
Pure Magic		Tame	
Wrangler		Warners	
Maybelline		Ambush	
Wells		Sugarfrost Plums	
Miss America		Lorraine	
Beauty Mist		Arpege	
No. 22		Hanes	
Love		Lenox	
Sea Dream Collection		Bright Side	

Some people define "attractiveness" in different ways. Listed below are several different ways of describing your definition of attractive. Using the 7 point scale, indicate with a check (✓) the degree of importance each word has in your definition.

The center space for each word means that neither word is important in your definition of attractive or that it is not a part of your definition.

Bold ___ _✓_ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Modest

In the above example, the person has indicated that being "bold" is very important in being attractive.

---x---x---x---x---x---x---x---x---x---x---x---x---x---x---x---x---x---x---

An ATTRACTIVE GIRL is:

Unlovable ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Lovable
Uninteresting ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Interesting
Daring ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Modest
Fashionable ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Plain
Clumsy ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Graceful

Affectionate ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Cold
Not beautiful ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Beautiful
Passionate ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Cold
Dull ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Radiant
Modest ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Spicy

Delicate ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Rough
Iceberg ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Sexy
Well dressed ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Plainly dressed
Unadorable ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Adorable
Sweet ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Sour

Modest ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Bold
Disgusting ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Enchanting
Figure ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Flat
Fascinating ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Repelling
Shapeless ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Shapely

Homely ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Lovely
Fast ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Slow
"Blah" ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Built
Dull ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Glowing
Good looking ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Not good looking

APPENDIX "B"

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

TABLE B-1. Male and Female Mean Salience Levels on Five Dimensions of Feminine Attractiveness - Semantic Differential Development Sample

Factors and Bipolar Items	Male Salience Level (N = 65)	Female Salience Level (N = 68)	Difference	T-test
PERSONALITY				
Graceful - Clumsy	5.63	6.09[1]	.46	<.005
Interesting - Uninteresting	6.15	6.24	.09	
Sweet - Sour	5.94	6.15	.21	
Fascinating - Repelling	5.62	5.84	.22	
Adorable - Unadorable	6.02	5.94	.08	
Good - Wicked	5.97	6.13	.16	
Delicate - Rough	6.28	6.46	.18	
Lovable - Unlovable	6.32	6.15	.17	
Fascinating - Unfascinating	5.66	5.54	.12	
Radiant - Dull	5.95	6.10	.15	
Glowing - Dull	5.95	6.26	.31	<.025
Affectionate - Cold	5.98	6.19	.21	
Neat - Sloppy	6.34	6.41	.07	
Lovely - Homely	6.12	6.01	.11	
Enchanting - Disgusting	5.71	6.01	.30	
Thrilling - Uninteresting	6.02	6.06	.04	
Tender - Tough	5.37	5.49	.12	
Well Kept - Straggled	6.31	6.54	.23	
PHYSICAL				
Shapely - Shapeless	6.46	6.09	.37	<.025
Figure - Flat	6.42	6.22	.20	
Built - Blah	6.22	5.71	.51	<.01
Sexy - Iceberg	6.08	5.41	.67	<.0005
Beautiful - Not Beautiful	6.20	5.91	.29	
Good Looking - Not Good L.	6.48	6.16	.32	<.025
MODESTY				
Bold - Modest	4.65	4.25	.40	
Daring - Modest	4.40	4.32	.08	
Spicy - Modest	4.91	4.06	.85	<.005
ACTION				
Fast - Slow	5.35	5.09	.26	
Hot - Cold	5.17	5.00	.17	
Passionate - Cold	5.86	6.04	.18	
DRESS				
Fashionable - Plain	5.22	5.90	.68	
Well Dressed - Plainly Dressed	5.20	5.12	.08	
Intriguing - Plain	4.68	4.76	.08	

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[1] Higher items are underlined.

TABLE B-2. Intra-Group Judgments of Female Group Members Males, High Physical Salience Females and Low Physical Salience Females.

Subject Number	Male Judgment Mean (N)[2]	High Physical Salience Group			Low Physical Salience Group		
		Mean (N)	"T"	Sig.	Mean (N)	"T"	Sig.
4[1]	3.750 (4)	4.398 (5)	1.592		4.500 (2)	2.500	
6	3.752 (4)	6.200 (5)	2.110		5.333 (2)	1.057	
7	4.750 (4)	4.666 (5)	.106		3.670 (2)	.989	
8	3.917 (4)	5.276 (6)	1.576		4.670 (1)	.944	
9	2.250 (4)	3.866 (5)	2.266		4.835 (2)	5.535	< .01
10	5.992 (4)	5.055 (6)	.107		5.000 (1)	.009	
11	3.835 (4)	4.000 (5)	.254		4.330 (2)	1.089	
12	2.915 (4)	4.466 (5)	2.375	< .05	4.335 (2)	3.613	< .05
14	5.714 (7)	5.835 (2)	.517		4.666 (3)	4.125	< .01
15	3.428 (7)	4.335 (2)	1.193		3.666 (3)	.573	
16	4.904 (7)	5.000 (2)	.346		4.666 (3)	.706	
17	4.524 (7)	5.000 (2)	.809		4.886 (3)	.636	
18	3.238 (7)	4.333 (1)	2.154		4.085 (4)	1.548	
20	4.582 (4)	4.142 (7)	1.341		4.380 (7)	.500	
21	4.830 (2)	4.792 (8)	.025		5.167 (4)	.222	
22	2.210 (11)	2.788 (11)	1.470		3.500 (6)	2.534	< .05
23	2.335 (2)	3.401 (10)	2.110		4.085 (4)	2.611	
24	5.667 (14)	5.951 (7)	.574		5.237 (7)	.694	
25	5.417 (16)	5.733 (10)	.778		5.868 (5)	.633	
26	5.268 (5)	4.055 (6)	1.663		5.250 (4)	.023	
27	4.000 (2)	4.333 (8)	.453		4.556 (3)	.761	
28	4.553 (3)	4.721 (6)	.336		5.113 (3)	.626	
29	4.082 (4)	3.665 (8)	.377		5.085 (4)	.882	
32	5.000 (2)	3.665 (7)	6.544	< .001	4.500 (2)	2.994	
33	3.750 (4)	4.075 (9)	.488		4.832 (4)	1.565	
37	3.110 (3)	4.001 (7)	1.271		4.915 (4)	2.350	
43	6.002 (4)	4.611 (6)	1.942		5.776 (3)	.220	
45	5.670 (3)	5.500 (4)	.590		4.832 (4)	2.626	< .05
46	3.333 (1)	4.223 (3)	1.148		3.556 (3)	2.073	
47	4.546 (11)	5.334 (10)	1.989		4.667 (1)	.385	
48	4.867 (10)	5.500 (10)	1.004		5.333 (1)	.850	
49	3.970 (11)	4.166 (10)	.321		4.667 (1)	1.525	
50	4.668 (10)	4.900 (10)	.473		4.000 (1)	1.708	
51	4.168 (10)	4.168 (10)			4.000 (1)	.425	
52	5.444 (9)	5.267 (10)	.457		4.667 (1)	2.290	< .05

TABLE B-2: continued

Subject	Male	High Physical Salience			Low Physical Salience		
Number	Mean (N)	Mean (N)	"T"	Sig.	Mean (N)	"T"	Sig.
53	4.125 (8)	3.925 (9)	.329		4.000 (1)	.318	
54	3.299 (10)	3.501 (10)	.347		3.667 (1)	.944	
55	3.466 (10)	3.667 (10)	.467		4.000 (1)	2.667	
56	6.167 (10)	6.101 (10)	.186		5.000 (1)	4.506	< .01
57	3.701 (10)	2.852 (9)	1.718		3.000 (1)	1.788	
58	3.876 (8)	4.433 (10)	1.582				
59	2.334 (5)	3.000 (2)	.759		3.666 (3)	2.223	
60	4.268 (5)	4.333 (3)	.082		4.500 (2)	.297	
62	4.066 (5)	4.666 (3)	.895		4.500 (2)	.566	
63	3.868 (5)	5.170 (2)	2.256		4.223 (3)	.519	
66	4.260 (5)	4.446 (3)	.287		4.000 (6)	1.354	
67	3.602 (5)	3.830 (2)	.139		4.000 (3)	.586	
68	3.221 (6)	4.500 (2)	2.164		4.780 (3)	2.697	
69	4.890 (6)	5.330 (2)	.910		4.500 (4)	.674	
70	3.778 (6)	4.500 (2)	2.022		4.250 (4)	.971	
71	4.666 (6)	5.000 (3)	.920		5.113 (3)	.827	
72	3.945 (6)	4.553 (3)	2.140		4.890 (3)	4.521	< .01
73	3.666 (6)	3.443 (3)	.292		3.890 (3)	.449	
74	4.056 (6)	4.665 (2)	1.530		4.750 (4)	1.949	
75	3.000 (2)	5.000 (2)	2.684		4.915 (4)	4.935	< .01
76	4.835 (2)	4.443 (3)	.277		4.223 (3)	2.214	
77	2.330 (2)	3.110 (3)	1.157		2.890 (3)	1.396	
78	3.500 (2)	4.890 (3)	1.368		4.443 (3)	.854	
80	2.665 (2)	3.000 (2)	.714		4.417 (4)	4.735	< .01
81	3.835 (2)	3.890 (3)	.201		4.443 (3)	.816	
82	3.170 (2)	2.835 (2)	.638		3.667 (4)	.641	
84	5.000 (7)	5.165 (2)	.859		4.890 (3)	.458	
85	4.761 (7)	5.776 (3)	2.079		4.665 (2)	.246	
86	2.620 (7)	1.500 (2)	1.821		3.553 (3)	1.740	
87	3.620 (7)	4.113 (3)	.343		3.835 (2)	.460	
88	5.001 (7)	6.000 (3)	1.575		4.665 (2)	.470	
89	5.428 (7)	5.170 (2)	.484		5.110 (3)	.295	
91	3.150 (11)	4.168 (6)	2.297	< .05	4.134 (5)	1.421	
92	5.946 (6)	4.934 (5)	2.233		5.417 (4)	1.550	
95	1.500 (2)	4.582 (4)	4.648	< .01	4.111 (6)	4.844	< .01

TABLE B-2. continued

Subject	Male	High Physical Salience			Low Physical Salience		
Number	Mean (N)	Mean (N)	"T"	Sig.	Mean (N)	"T"	Sig.
96	3.333 (2)	3.113 (3)	.175		4.250 (4)	.744	
97	2.534 (5)	4.134 (5)	2.366	< .05	4.200 (5)	2.279	
98	5.000 (4)	4.582 (4)	.598		4.890 (3)	.173	
99	3.446 (3)	3.934 (5)	.383		4.085 (4)	.489	
101	4.333 (1)	3.556 (3)	.965		3.832 (4)	.772	
102	2.890 (3)	5.000 (4)	1.870		4.335 (2)	1.299	
103	5.556 (3)	4.780 (3)	.566		5.000 (3)	.415	
104	4.667 (1)	4.750 (4)	.283		4.417 (4)	.740	
105	4.000 (2)	4.333 (3)	.654		4.582 (4)	1.572	
108	2.333 (1)	3.556 (3)	1.529		4.890 (3)	6.389	< .05
110	3.667 (1)	2.132 (5)	3.697	< .05	3.534 (5)	.469	

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[1] Some subjects were not rated by the males or were among those dropped from the sample. As a result some numbers are missing.

[2] Number of judgments making up the Mean.

TABLE B-3. Attitude Correlation Matrix

ATTITUDE[1]	Attitude Numbers													
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1-Boys interested in seeing how far a girl will go.	.408^a	.354^a	.106	.083	.198^d	.172	.408^a	.200^d	.211^d	-.067	.180	.114	.142	-.025
2-Boys more interested in looks than acts.		.442^a	.123	.175	.306^a	.142	.417^a	.117	.141	.085	.128	.184	.116	.014
3-Boys more interested in figure than personality.			.191	.059	.299^b	-.021	.254^b	.120	.033	.116	.279^b	.134	-.014	-.017
4-Girls don't like prettier girls.				.291^b	.348^a	.269^b	.031	.041	.193	-.112	.049	.036	-.065	.138
5-Girls talk about phony dressers.					.492^a	.333^a	.334^a	.205^d	.206^d	.142	-.014	.005	-.052	.094
6-Girls dislike girls who dress for boys.						.269^b	.236^c	.087	-.013	.061	.122	.200^d	-.081	.091
7-Boys notice girls who dress attractively.							.425^a	.300^a	.427^a	.053	.210^d	.089	.028	.129
8-Boys talk about girl's figures.								.358^a	.493^a	.194^d	.107	.153	.122	.065
9-Girls talk about girl's figures.									.369^a	.056	.097	.147	.082	.017
10-A girl should dress with boys in mind.										.155	.235^c	.026	.204^d	.207^d
11-Important for a girl to look best at all times.											.223^c	-.150	-.085	.178
12-Tell what a girl is like by appearance.												.105	-.071	.059
13-"Too friendly" boy, girl to blame.													.201^d	-.012
14-"Too friendly" boy, boy to blame.														-.106
15-"Too friendly" boy, both to blame.														

a. $p = < .001$
b. $p = < .006 > .001$
c. $p = < .015 > .010$
d. $p = < .027 > .020$

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[1] Attitudes paraphrased for brevity.